Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-91-073
Tuesday
16 April 1991

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FBIS-SOV-91-073 *16 April 1991*

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Fitzwater Cited on CFE Treaty-Summit Linkage

LD1604031691 Moscow TASS in English 0302 GMT 16 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Fedyashin]

[Text] Washington April 16 TASS—The United States served a clear notice on Monday that it does not insist that work on the Strategic Arms Reductions Treaty (START) should be completed before any Soviet-American summit could take place.

However, it said that completion of the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty (CFE) is a precondition for a summit between Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President George Bush.

The sides postponed the Moscow summit scheduled for February because of the Gulf crisis and differences on the START treaty.

White House Spokesman Marlin Fitzwater told a news briefing that both President Bush and Gorbachev were interested in the meeting.

"We are very concerned about the CFE," Fitzwater told reporters. "I think it's fair to say we have to resolve major questions about that before we'd be ready to have a summit."

He hinted that differences on the START treaty could be resolved during the Moscow summit, which could also bring progress in nuclear disarmament.

"In terms of the START agreement, we also want to make progress on that and so we wouldn't tie specific conditions to a summit," Fitzwater said.

'Cautious Optimism' on Vienna Arms Talks

LD1504151291 Moscow TASS in English 1323 GMT 15 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Smelov]

[Text] Vienna April 15 TASS—The new, third round of the talks on conventional armed forces in Europe that opened here today will try to overcome difficulties that have arisen at the talks.

The first stage of the talks was concluded by the Paris summit where the treaty on conventional armed forces in Europe was signed. The present forum is to discuss questions connected with limiting the numerical strength of the armed forces of the 22 participating countries on an area stretching from the Atlantic to the Urals. Effective and verifiable measures for stabilisation should be worked out and a procedure for aerial inspections coordinated.

The second round of negotiations was futile. Debates on the procedure for counting those armaments and equipment to which reductions apply hit a wall. There were heated debates over the fact that three motorised rifle divisions in the USSR were attached to the coastal defense, although this took place back in 1989, long before the treaty was signed.

Local observers speak about prospects for the present round with cautious optimism, based on reports from Washington that the U.S. is prepared to propose a compromise. This will possibly help get the negotiations off the ground.

If this happens, the participants in the forum will be able to begin drafting agreements to limit conventional armed forces. These limitations may be on the basis of separate countries, not the basis of blocs. A consensus is being reached about this approach. The military organisation of the Warsaw Treaty no longer exists. While NATO continues to operate as a military-political alliance, it has stated its intention to change its strategy and tactics because there are no longer military adversaries in Europe.

They will search for a mutually acceptable way to limit the scope of military exercises, contributing to stabilisation measures aimed at averting the threat of a surprise attack and covert preparations for large scale offensives. Participants will also seek to coordinate a regime of aerial inspections.

Churkin Cited on U.S. Statement on El Salvador

PM1604100991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Apr 91 Union Edition p 4

[G. Charodeyev report: "What About the Soviet-U.S. Statement?"]

[Text] Vitaliy Churkin, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, addressed a routine briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists.

He said that Moscow reacted with concern to the statement issued by General Powell, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, regarding the possibility of U.S. military action in El Salvador if the current phase of talks on the peaceful resolution of the conflict in this country end in failure.

This statement, the briefing moderator stressed, totally contradicts the conviction expressed on several occasions by representatives of the U.S. Administration that mutually acceptable solutions to settle the age-old crisis in El Salvador can only be secured by political means worked out at the negotiating table. It is well known that the Soviet-U.S. statement on El Salvador adopted less than a month ago contains this clear and unequivocal position. It has acquired even greater significance these days, when the peace talks between the Salvadoran Government and the insurgents, with the UN secretary general's mediation and the broad support of the international community, have entered a crucial phase.

In this situation, attempts to exert illegal strong-arm pressure and whip up tension are destructive and may undermine the positive achievements gained in the course of the dialogue, notably due to U.S. and Soviet assistance. We expect people in Washington to be fully aware of that. As for the Soviet Union, we firmly advocate the speediest attainment of political accords in El Salvador and a peaceful settlement in this country solely by means of talks, V. Churkin stressed.

Northeast Asia

Gorbachev Addresses Officials in Khabarovsk

LD1504152691 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1130 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Speech by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev to leaders and officials of Khabarovsk Kray in Khabarovsk on 15 April—recorded]

[Text] When I had to decide on a firm date for my visit to Japan, in accordance with the previous agreement for this visit, I had already thought at that time of another, albeit short, meeting with the inhabitants of Khabarovsk—to listen to them, to exchange opinions, to talk about what is going on now in this very large kray. And while talking about Khabarovsk one can also speak about what is going on in the Far East in the complex time in which we are living, when we have to tackle serious issues that are fateful, on the prospect for the near future and for the future of the country.

I did not even put on the agenda a visit to enterprises because I considered that I should follow the lines of open and informal meetings, such as this one. And only then should I talk to the leadership of the kray with the participation of representatives and of economic leaders of the rayons and towns. A short encounter with the inhabitants of Khabarovsk also shows, of course, that the social, economic, and political situation is tense. Though I would say that the people are maintaining endurance, are maintaining belief and hope for a way out of this situation. This really worries them. And despite the fact that these conversations were conducted, especially in one case, at the market where, as is well known, conversations take place with a special tinge, and, generally speaking, in an atmosphere when people now meet with quite a different situation in the shops, cafeterias, and snack bars, and, simply, at the market—the collective farm market and at the second-hand market—they compare and see what has happened to their life. These meetings were, of course, of great importance to me, as well as the conversations with the working people.

We should have expected it, we have all anticipated this, the processes connected with the transfer first to new wholesale prices, producers' prices, and now to new retail prices are perhaps the most painful processes among the restructuring measures we are implementing in the field of the economy.

But I wanted to tell the people during these meetings, I have to say that many people do not understand that this is not an imagined thing but an imminent and logical thing in connection with the fact that for many years our entire system of prices had been warped. After all, prices reflect certain economic processes, certain realities. And naturally it is always a very sharp component for influencing the activity of both the producer and the purchaser, his budget, his family, and his life. So this is, in a sense, a very important component of economic life—the prices, the price policy. We felt a long time ago that price reform was needed. After all, we cannot live without coal, oil, gas, metal, and at the same time have all those involved in the production of these basics... [changes thought] those who work in these basic industries are dragging out such an existence that they can gain no profits, no funds, cannot solve social tasks. You can see already what this is becoming. And although we cannot agree with the position of some of the miners who are constantly dragging the country into this fever, neither can we, comrades, reject the realities of the miners' life. This has to be said clearly. These two elements have to be present in our position.

And people there often put the question this way—this was not the last meeting with the miners—they say: We understand that the government does not have anything stashed away, so that it could open up one store for one lot, or another safe to resolve things for this lot, that lot or another lot, and so on. No, it does not exist. Today the situation is such that we have no possibilities. The potential is enormous in the economy, in the country, in natural resources, in everything. But today we have neither financial nor other resources.

For this reason, they put the question this way: Give us the opportunity, create production and economic conditions under which we can show what we can do ourselves, can work well, show economic quickness, have different results, and resolve our own issues, family life, social issues, and other matters.

We are in agreement on this. This is what was considered recently by the government and the miners. And we agreed that after this, workers in other basic branches of industry would also be considered as well. The reckoning is that they will develop these branches of industry and keep them stable and at the same time new opportunities will be created for them on the basis of the new approaches to increase their income, improve living conditions, and provide facilities in miners' regions and settlements. People who have been there know that many very acute social problems have accumulated in these areas. As they say: the land has been turned over, everything is being extracted from it by mining. All around there are many old villages and huts from ancient times, not to speak of the social structures, infastructure, and so on.

So, what am I leading up to? If things need to be tackled in these branches of industry, then this will clearly have an effect, and they cannot enter the market with such prices. Or the issue will immediately arise there. It does have an effect. If prices are changed in the basic branches of industry, then wave will follow wave throughout the national economy. So everything needs to be looked at, the system of procurement prices, in relation to agriculture, power engineering, and metal—via the system of machines—comes into the picture and this will increase expenses. But for whom will it increase them? So, this matter also needs to be resolved. Well, of course, all of

this taken together—since it includes the raw materials for the light and food industries—it all has an effect there as well as here.

And so, the situation has arisen of what should happen with retail prices. We, frankly speaking, have shown hesitation. Once, you will recall, at the beginning of perestroyka, we started to raise this issue quite actively. And we saw that this was necessary. And at that time, I am sure, as they say now, we are all wise with hindsight, this is our national characteristic.

So now, how many specialists there are in appraising what was successful and was unsuccessful, and how and what perestroyka is and what it has contributed. Simply outstanding treatises are now springing up, you see. And how long did the thousands of science representatives and specialists sit around while the national economy was gradually decaying, together with society. And everyone says that although they felt uncomfortable, they lived nonetheless.

We are making such a large change that no one has dreamed of it. No people has experienced what has befallen us. On the other hand, we could no longer postpone it. The processes began by themselves and they would have gone on tearing away so that everything here would be torn to shreds, and everything would fall apart. That would have been a real last judgement. And the fact that we have consciously embarked upon this road is correct.

When we now have reached all this—a new price policy—we see that we have taken the right road. We had to react to those realities through financial instruments that exist in the economy, because there would be no market, no competition, no real incentives. The main thing is that we have to go through this to cure our financial economy. Of course a lot still needs to be done for this: decreasing the budget expenditure and enhancing the significance and the role of the ruble in our economy, in our life, because if today we run away from the currency and try to get rid of it as soon as possible, this shows that the ruble is now worth little. Although this ruble—bear it in mind and do not give up—this ruble is backed by enormous things, it has a firm base. It has no equivalent in goods, that is the problem, goods for both the consumer market and goods for, let us say, the wholesale market where you could buy everything and so on. That is the issue here. That is why everything we are doing in the field of reforming the price policy is a necessity, comrades. That is one.

Second, there is a line we must not cross. If at the same time we have a decline in production and it goes on for a long period, then stagflation will start, the most dangerous phenomenon.

Many programs to combat inflation and improve the economy and finances in many countries were defeated precisely because they did not find that optimum combination, when you have to both stifle inflation with a strict financial policy and use other methods, like control over expenditure of resources, and in general by methods so as to raise the importance of the ruble, so to speak, including, in this case, by means of the price policy. But at the same time you have to think how to give life and oxygen to the producer.

Here now there has been a decline in the economy, especially in the first quarter. We have lost 4, about 5, percent, of the volume of industrial production, and about 13 percent of agricultural production. Indeed, the total national income has declined by something like 10 percent overall. And this is the most dangerous thing. If this trend is not stopped or overcome, then we shall indeed find ourselves in such a situation where money seems to be growing, where there is more and more of it in circulation, while production falls. That is to say, the value of the ruble declines even more.

For that reason we too need to look and get to the bottom of it. And we have already started on this. The cabinet and all the comrades in the republics have held sessions and examined that question in the most attentive way, taking several days. This is all included in the anti-crisis program.

So, yes. We have to continue our financial austerity. But at the same time, we have to see the causes and determine measures so as not to allow further decline in production. The first thing there is the collapse of the economic links.

Notwithstanding the fact that less has been coming in by way of imports and in other ways—this is all happening now. It has exerted some pressure, particularly on light industry, on individual branches of engineering which very much depend on some special imported deliveries. But nevertheless, all the rest are connected first and foremost with the violation of economic links, with the fact that we have started to tear our common union market into shreds under the guise of the fight for sovereignty. This correct idea of sovereignization, which is needed to express in these formulas the most earnest desires of the people for the rebirth of each people and statehood—we have thereby introduced these absurdities. We have got to such a point that first the republics started to indulge in undermining activities and to struggle against the center with laws, then the regions joined in the same war too, but this time against the center and the republics, and then it reached the rural soviets.

Now we are caught in a trap, as a result of this, of such processes. The market is disrupted. In these circumstances, everybody decided that he will be able to get out, by using his specific situation. One has building materials at his disposal, another has equipment, the third one—whatever there is, wheat—the fourth one has timber, the fifth one, metal, and so forth. Okay, save yourself if you can. But all this is a nonsense, comrades. It only seems that those who act in this way, they are really close to this soil, to this land, that they save their people, or their industry and so on. Nonsense. Our state

and our economy have shaped themselves in such a way that they cannot live if someone interferes with these links. They cannot. Therefore, it is the disruption of economic links that is the main reason for the decline in production, whereas the first step toward their stabilization and toward moving our production further is the re-establishment of economic links.

So, after sitting there, we managed, you know, to find the rational element which is contained both in inter-republican links and in the arrangements for state orders. A lot intersects there. You see, what happened was that it seemed to the center that the republics are trying to undermine the center. While to the republics it seemed that the center, while insisting upon the state order, does not give a damn and acts according to an imperial principle: Hold them tight and do not let them go. And that it is neither ready for any redistribution of authority nor for delegating rights and responsibilities. And this suspicion lasted several months. Because, look here, by the beginning of the year, effectively—how much was it? Was it 20 percent of the treaties that had been concluded? Or was it 21? I do not quite remember, something like that. By the beginning of the year, comrades! While we need a minimum of 40-60 days from the moment of the conclusion of the treaty for all this to come into effect!

This is how this whole wave started. Therefore, all these efforts, all the decrees—they say, maybe, there are too many of them—and so on. But it is not just a matter of decrees. There has been such a lot of talk, of meetings, of conversations of all kinds, and so on.

Now the group headed by Comrade Doguzhiyev, the deputy chairman of all the republics, has been sitting; it has worked out approaches, both on how to stabilize economic relations this year and on what to do; and it has developed a concept for 1992, and the basis of this concept, nonetheless, is the relations between enterprises through a contractual system. And a contractual system must rise up on the basis of the present system of the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply. A transformation will take place.

So both these and other matters have been worked through. But then the miners came in. Well, I have to say that there is great tension in these regions, but some people have decided to engage in a little speculation for political purposes. This is bad. This is bad. Therefore, I think that now the main thing is for us to realize this, especially with the present situation. We have to understand that... [changes thought] must cast off all this, and I will develop this thesis, must cast off everything, get down to organization, and pool efforts to get production going.

If we do not permit a further fall in production, and if we even increase something, and I mean not only through strengthening relations but through incentives and through land reform, encouraging initiative in the agricultural sector, and through backing medium-size and small business, through granting the cooperative movement the opportunity to further increase in strength on a healthy basis—so, if we include and do all this at the same time, that is, give stimuli for the producer, introduce concessions, which I have talked about—this is something which, perhaps, is particularly worthwhile in our anti-crisis program for those who are producing goods—cut taxes, and in some places remove all taxes on profit so that it is in people's interests to produce more goods, then we can start this movement. Therefore, now we have to stop these processes, all these endless rallies, all the stoppages and all the strikes in the national economy, realizing that it is literally a question of days and weeks. If we do not realize this, then afterwards it will be too late.

Because of the collapse of these ties, the collapse of production, the way events will develop is definitely taking a clear shape there. People left without wages, without incomes, without anything to go to the market, to the shops with, and given these prices, he [has heard] will then find methods and forms of resolving the problems by the well-known method.

I must say that this will not be a better method. This will be the very danger which we, all of us, simply must not permit. This is a national responsibility of all state structures and political bodies. That is the first thing.

Second, the Far East has of course its special features. Here, everything that takes place in the country, also has a Far Eastern coefficient, but a coefficient in the sense of the specific character of the development of this region. I am, as it were, speaking figuratively about this. I will not expatiate on the specific question of the development of this region now even though I have some data in my possession here. I felt that you nevertheless advocate that thinking in such a way that—someone has somewhere used the issue of a few islands, someone else has done something in addition—a matter, matters of such importance are not, not, not resolved. Here there is a great national interest, and not only of the Russian Federation even though it is mainly involved, of course, but of all republics of the union, because there are huge possibilities here, a potential for increasing resources, for increasing everything that will work for different dynamics of development, of the country's socio-economic development. That is why probably we need to return to those programs—I won't say that it is literally to those programs, but to the programs, the target programs for the development of the Far East. And think that these must be new programs, comrades.

First, we have already traveled a distance. The situation has changed, also inside the country, and the sources are now already different: Everything cannot be done on command. Here things must be done on the basis of interests. Whoever takes part in this program is the one who receives.

I think it is necessary to involve foreigners, both scientists and especially foreign capital, in development

projects, and in development projects through consultations and discussion and through practical implementation. There is no need to be ashamed of this. There is a broad scope for healthy cooperation here.

That is what will be required. It will work for the benefit of the republic, the Far East, the republic, the union, the people, and the country as a whole. It will benefit those who take part in cooperation. And it will be a good foundation for political and moreover, for human cooperation. Therefore, this will be an enormous thing to do. And I think when I come back, we will have to think this over immediately, together with the RSFSR leadership and with leading scientists and your regional ones. We will have to draft an outline and get on with it without delay, and start working on a target program for the development of the Far East, and flesh it out. Many projects already exist in this sphere. They just need to be fleshed out in relation to the current concrete situation.

I think, in this sense, too, one can say that during my visit to Japan, we will be discussing this subject, among other things, with our neighbors, the Japanese. That is the first thing.

Second, briefly, concerning the characteristics of the current situation, I would like to put this bluntly: Of all the past years, of all the past few decades in our development, the current situation is perhaps the most complex. I do not wish to go into detail about the roots of this question right now. To a considerable degree, this is connected with the fact that enormous problems and distortions have piled up in the development of the country as a whole. What is at issue here is the need to assess the model we used in our socio-economic development, the functioning of state and public institutions. That is a profound process, and one that we are busy with. We must pursue this path of renewal of our society. Every transitional period is very difficult, especially in a country like ours. Whatever you consider—take our economy, for instance: To a considerable extent it is using old stocks of outdated machinery. This is an economy weighed down by its relations between industries and by its structure.

So, in this respect, it will not be possible to do without a profound structural policy. You know yourselves, however, what a structural policy means. It does not mean leaps such as a 500-day program, but rather it involves an enormous amount of work and swinging the economy round toward other aims through changes in the investment policy, a tranfusion of capital, a transfer of personnel and so on. This is a very serious turn and a serious thing—serious things.

The main thing is that this is an economy which also had to carry the additional weight of a military sector, a defense sector. You can imagine what sort of a task we had to tackle. We had to tackle a global task, and we have solved it. But having solved it and having given it everything, one has to give the people their due. As far as politicians are concerned, one can question whether they pursued the right path and whether they did the right thing, but as far as the people are concerned, they have given it their resources, the best personnel from among the working class and the best scientists. What is more, 70 percent of scientific work was devoted to that sector. This shows that we can solve our tasks. And we have solved them—we have solved them. But at the same time, look at the losses we have incurred. And in that respect one can raise the question as to how we have solved it. Enormous losses constitute the other side of the coin.

Only a few percent of assets are working for goods, for production, for the development of the social sphere. It has fallen behind. The civil sector finds itself in a difficult situation. In essence, it finds itself in a different technological and technical age. And yet we still have to go through this in order to attain a level of labor productivity which will ensure that we can produce two or three times more with fewer or the same number of people. The main thing is that we must achieve the technology which will save us energy and resources. Now we are spending 1.5 to 3 times more per unit of national income than the leading states. So in general we are stripping ourselves naked with our wasteful economy.

So here too we have to have conversion, and develop the potential which has actually been built up very well, but we need to develop it skillfully. But in the beginning—this is my answer to Comrade (Belov)—we need to produce what will sell in the world, including military hardware, and earn money in order to reconstruct. There are states which, like us, must nevertheless maintain their defense at a certain level, others are also concerned with defense. If they want to cooperate with us, we must do so. Of course they are not going to buy yesterday's hardware. So this means we have to open up and embark on selling good defense hardware.

This includes conversion, having people work on reequipment, and so on. But privileges are also necessary. In other countries enterprises engaged on reconstruction enjoy privileges, large privileges from the bank. They do not ask to be exempted from taxation, but they enjoy credit privileges, which are practically free. That is how it is there. So why can we not understand this in our still planned economy?

Here unique tasks are facing us. But we have to tackle this matter and get on with it.

The second direction of the economy, comrades, is to move toward reforming property relations, and to different forms of property, to support different forms of management. A few days ago I gathered together managers, local managers from collective and state farms, but ones who have applied new forms of management. Among those, some were on lease contracting, others with associations or cooperatives of cooperatives [as heard], others have become people's enterprises and so on.

And what an interesting discussion it was, I can tell you. They were completely different people, completely different. In two or three years they have changed everything. And what results. Let me tell you about the wages. They are not in arrears, even though the collective and state farms are tied by producer prices which are firmly set by the state. It is incentives that have made the difference. After all, nothing, no evolution of funds or technology used by them has occurred during these two years. What has changed is people's attitude. They have taken charge of their end product. They have become the masters themselves. As a result things have already changed. So, the same thing can be done in all industries, and not only in small enterprises. Now listen, KAMAZ has issued shares, VAZ also—or am I wrong? VAZ, I am saying. [indistinct background voices discuss the point]

Well, this, at least, is an example of what the new forms of management can achieve. Some people, after all, believe that if an enterprise is enormous, then it cannot be entered? Cannot be penetrated. Not so. They should be entered and exploded—exploded in a good way. Interest, and this new mainspring of incentive should be introduced there. The results will be different.

So, we must follow a policy of profoundly reshaping economic relations, developing a mixed economy and tackling other questions, everything connected with it. That is when the market will appear. In other words, owners must put their products on the market. Naturally, a market infrastructure is also needed. We will do all this. In tackling stabilization measures, we will at the same time do everything possible to stimulate production activity, the labor activity of people in entire sectors.

But, of course, today—and here I am replying to a question from Comrade (Tsoy), who says that we need a different atmosphere in which to implement all these major objectives and tasks, especially in the phase we are now in, the phase of decisive changes which are taking place, which the country has entered.

Yes, I think that, to be honest, we should put aside all our political programs, ambitions, attachments and so on.

What is most important for us now, the most important, is the state. We must save it—and a threat exists. We must save our economic potential and our economy from collapse and go on to open the door wide to profound changes for the better in this field. Finally, we must restore law and order and legality in the country and create such reliable, or to be more precise, a situation for the organs of power to function confidently and effectively. If this does not happen, all talk about what needs doing and solving will be rubbish, idle talk, and will result in idle talk.

Therefore, there are two decisive factors. We must appeal to [changes thought] and we are doing this. We must obtain [changes thought] I hope that our people—even my meetings in Khabarovsk have shown this—despite the complexity, the difficulties of the discussions, people want things to change. They do not want us to clash with each other in this current situation. The people reject that. That's what these fresh discussions, so to speak, demonstrate. People are showing immense restraint. I think that everybody must show immense restraint. That's the first thing. Politicians and leaders at all levels must place the country's interests, the state's interests, above everything else. No other approach is possible. All those personal considerations, all those things—none of this, you know, has any significance for the people at the moment. Let them all—that's to say politicians, leaders, whoever you care mention—keep these things to themselves. Today all this must be cleared away so that it does not prevent us resolving the task of, basically, saving the homeland.

Therefore, after returning from the visit to Japan, we plan to hold a meeting of the leaders of all republics. We plan to discuss all this. There we must not ... we must act. We have adopted the economic agreement. Everybody has signed it, but it is not being carried out. We agreed that action needed to be taken. But the opposite is being done. One republic adopts one law, which violates and contradicts the union law. But what is the union law? It is a law that is in the interests of all union republics. This will destroy the union. So, we must put an end to the war of laws and allow executive authority to function again, from top to bottom.

Today, a village soviet does not recognize the decisions of the republic's Council of Ministers and of the oblast executive committee. Do you think work can be done in this way? Things must be restored and, first and foremost, people in whose heads there is already such a muddle that they cannot any longer understand what it is all about, such people must be simply dismissed.

In other words, a democracy without firm authority based on law will not be a democracy. It will be universal chaos. And vice versa. Authority, the structures of authority, will be bureaucratized, if there is no democratic environment. Such is dialectics. We have launched democratic processes but they must be balanced by that stable, firm and efficient authority. This must be understood and this must be put into practice. The paramount task is to reach a union treaty, a new union treaty. So that it would be signed within this month, and next month, a start can be made on its ratification. There is an issue: There is a union as a new federation and as a sovereign state and there is our Russian Federation as a state which unites republics. And all this can be correlated. We must remember this formative factor and element, so to speak, that is the notion, and the very essence of Russia. And without the Russian Federation being there, renewing itself, acquiring new dynamism, living and acting in different conditions, it is difficult to expect a full-blooded, normal and secure life for the union. But, similarly, by opposing itself to the union, Russia too is doomed. And, mind you, this opposing will be inevitably followed by disintegration processes inside Russia itself. And those have already started.

The answers should not be sought somewhere in the heavens. They must be sought, these answers, in the thousand years of history and in today's reality by introducing new elements, what we call both the renewed Russian Federation and the renewed union of sovereign republics, as a renewed union state. All of this can be resolved, juristically, politically, and in practice. We just have to be disposed to this and have to understand. There cannot be all kinds of czarist, imperial manners and there cannot be separatist manners. Both are inadmissable. They will destroy our cause.

I think that on such approaches and we are close to them, especially as we all have the people's mandate, and on the other hand no one can (?ignore) this opinion. And you know how sharply the Supreme Soviet put it. If you remember how I put it, what wording I suggested for the referendum. The wording I proposed at the congress for the referendum was simple. But at the Supreme Soviet everything was put differently. You see there they put, are you in favor of preserving the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a renewed federation of sovereign republics where the rights and freedoms of every person of any ethnicity are safely preserved, defended.

So, do you feel how the Supreme Soviet tied it up? Moreover, I remember, there were six versions. And this most complex formula was victorious and the people sorted out what was what. Above all, everyone is ready to give up their life for the USSR. The majority, at least, cannot imagine anything else. But a renewed federation, sovereign republics—the people's rights and all the basic fundamental values are protected. Therefore, if someone thinks that after the referendum work on the union treaty, which the people have come out in favor of can be forgotten, then I think the people will not agree. They will not agree.

And at the same time this formula enables us to set about very optimum [as heard] decisions, promising the dynamic development of both the union state and every sovereign republic, in completely new conditions. So, this is the task now which we will deal with.

Therefore, Comrade (Tsoy), I consider that all claims and ambitions must be cast off, no matter who they come from. Moreover, they must be harshly, openly and plainly assessed if someone speaks [word indistinct].

Therefore, I listened to Comrade Yeltsin's concluding address. I read it, and I saw that there were constructive elements and proposals on this score there. But when, two or three days later, I read two or three days later—in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA I think it was, or somewhere else—that his news conference was published, the news conference which he held just 40 minutes after that concluding address, I could not make out whether this was one and the same man or not.

So, I am basing myself on what was said prior to the congress. If that is the way the Russian leadership, the parliament...the Supreme Soviet and so on are going to act, then I think that will create a base on which constructive processes might develop and destructive ones be ended, all manner of confrontation. But if they—the leadership—are going to act as Comrade Yeltsin did in his concluding address, then we also have to say quite forthrightly—[unidentified voice prompts him: "at his news conference"] I mean at his news conference—then we also have to say quite forthrightly that that will lead to nothing good. It will be just one more twist, an escalation of confrontation, with all the dangerous consequences that can ensue. Because in this kind of situation in which we are living, when we have to settle things every day, without letting slip or losing a single week, is is impossible to act other than in cooperation. I think that in the final analysis common sense, reason and our common concern and alarm and responsibility for the destiny of this state will conquer. On this I will finish.

[Unidentified voice] Comrades, I should like to thank Mikhail Sergeyevich in your name for the meeting which has taken place, and to wish him and the delegation which is travelling with Mikhail Sergeyevich for serious work in Japan the most fruitful work. [applause]

[Gorbachev] And I wish you once more, Far Easterners, success and a sturdy spirit!

Ignatenko on Gorbachev Visit to Japan

LD1504154891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1445 GMT 15 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondents Dmitriy Bandura and Vyacheslav Bantin]

[Text] Tokyo, 15 Apr (TASS)—Three rounds of summit talks are planned during the visit to Japan by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev, which begins on Tuesday. It cannot be ruled out that there will also be a fourth round. This was announced at a news conference today by Vitaliy Ignatenko, aide to the USSR president and head of his press service.

Addressing journalists here, he gave details of the agenda for Mikhail Gorbachev's stay in Japan. Apart from one-on-one talks and delegation talks with Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu, it also envisages meetings with the emperor and empress and leaders of opposition parties as well as an address to parliament. There will be conversations with influential representatives of business circles and the Japanese scientific community. The USSR president will go on to Nagasaki where he will visit the Russian cemetery and the peace park that is laid out in memory of the victims of the atom bomb.

Around 2,500 guests are expected to take part in the final reception in honor of the USSR president, V. Ignatenko announced.

Going on to answer journalists' questions, he noted that the presence in the Soviet delegation of representatives of the republics reflects that they have a degree of

sovereignty enabling them to be heard at serious international talks. The president's aide took special note of the great contribution of the Russian Federation in preparing documents and to the very concept of the talks.

He also said the visit to the Republic of Korea that is planned after the trip to Japan is in response to an invitation from President No Tae-u, and is on account of swiftly developing ties with that country.

TASS Observer on Gorbachev Visit to Japan

LD1504151391 Moscow TASS in English 1501 GMT 15 Apr 91

[By TASS political observer Askold Biryukov]

[Text] Moscow April 15 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's official visit to Japan begins on Tuesday. [It is] an unprecedented visit. No Russian leader of this rank has ever visited Japan (not counting the visit by the heir to the Russian throne exactly 100 years ago). Both sides regard Gorbachev's visit as crucial, hoping that it will impart a new quality to relations between the two countries. Even if not all hopes come true, the significance of the visit cannot be overestimated.

A spokesman for the Japanese Foreign Ministry told a news conference in Tokyo that as Gorbachev had begun perestroyka and Eastern Europe was democratized and Germany united under him, he is the only man capable of imparting dynamic changes to relations between Japan and the Soviet Union.

Indeed, the service record of the architect of Soviet perestroyka does inspire hope. Countries of the region are very familiar with Gorbachev's speeches in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk and his other ideas concerning peace and stability there. Quite probably, the president will take advantage of his visit to Japan to air his vision of prosepcts for implementing these ideas.

Japanese military officials, nevertheless, have hurried to disassocate themselves from projected Soviet proposals and put up a fence of prejudices inherited from the Cold War period against new Soviet initiatives. "The programme (for ensuring security in the region) is unacceptable whatever its content," a high-ranking National Defence Department official has declared. The Japanese Defence Ministry, the newspaper MAINICHI says, intends to insist on Soviet unilateral disarmament even if the Soviet side puts forth proposals for arms control and disarmament.

The ASAHI newspaper justly points out in today's editorial that during the East-West cold war the foreign policy of Japan and the United States was basically anti-Soviet. Now that the situation in the world has changed, the newspaper says, direct links between Japan and the Soviet Union and Japanese-U.S. relations should not contradict each other.

It notes further that the success of perestroyka in the Soviet Union does not only meet Japan's state interests but will become a major component of stability in the whole world.

Another newspaper also regards Gorbachev's visit as a turning point after which a new epoch is bound to begin in bilateral relations.

Friendly relations between the USSR and Japan, YOMIURI says, are an integral component of peace and stability. "The pooling of efforts of Japan, the world's second economic power and the USSR, which is now moving towards democracy, is of great international significance".

Of course, both countries will have to traverse a difficult path before new confidence enables them to solve all problems on a realistic and just basis. But this path must be traversed so that nothing, including their complex past relationship, will hamper their joint efforts to build a common future.

Bovin Urges 'Joint Use' Kurils Compromise

PM1504222391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Apr 91 Union Edition p 4

[Aleksandr Bovin "Political Observer's Opinion": "Let Us Leave Something to Our Grandchildren"]

[Text] It is said that during USSR President M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Japan, 15 or so documents will be signed concerning various spheres of Soviet-Japanese relations. They are probably all both necessary and important.

However, Japan—and not just Japan—is waiting most impatiently for what will be signed (or even just said) about the so-called problem of the "northern territories." What is its essence? The Japanese Government believes that in 1945 the USSR illegally occupied a group of islands that do not belong to the Kuril archipelago but are part of "age-old" Japanese territory (Iturup, Kunashir, and the whole of the Lesser Kurils—the Habomai islands and Shikotan). The Japanese Government is insistently demanding that these islands be returned.

Will they be returned or not? This is the question that is being seen as in Tokyo as the main one, the basic question of the visit.

What will happen? Let us eliminate right away the theoretically possible extreme solutions.

The USSR President cannot say to the Japanese: The Soviet Union does not believe that your arguments are justified. International law is on our side; we will consider the question to be conclusively resolved and move onto other matters. He cannot do this because to do so would mean condemning the visit to failure, to defeat, damaging Soviet-Japanese relations for an unspecified time, and setting a section of world public opinion

against the USSR (the PRC and the United States, for example, support the Japanese demands).

But the USSR President cannot do the "contrary"—return all the "northern territories" to the Japanese. This would cause exultation in Japan. But after all, M.S. Gorbachev wants to go home and remain president of the Soviet Union. He cannot ignore the general situation in the country or the fact that 73 percent of the inhabitants of Siberia and the Far East are resolutely opposed to territorial concessions to Japan.

What remains is the search for a compromise. What could this look like?

First of all a few thoughts about the substance of the Japanese arguments.

The historical argument (that this territory was Japanese since time immemorial) is very weak. The aforesaid territories are the age-old territory of the Ainu, who lived there long before the Japanese. The Japanese arrived in the Kurils as colonizers. And there they came up against other colonizers—the Russians. The foreign land was divided according to strength and influence, borders were drawn and redrawn...

The legal arguments. These are more serious. But they are completely balanced out by equally serious counter-arguments. The Japanese point out that "the northern territories were never under Russian sovereignty." That is true. But in no way does it follow from this that Japan has "eternal" sovereignty. When it lost the war and signed the San Francisco Peace Treaty (1951), Japan renounced "all rights, legal grounds, and claims" to the Kuril islands. Later the Japanese Government started affirming that the concept "Kuril Islands" did not include the "northern territories." The falsity of this idea is proved by the Japanese prewar map, in which the Kurils include the entire archipelago from Kamchatka to Hokkaido, including the islands that are now called the "northern territories."

Japan uses the fact that the Soviet Union did not sign the San Francisco Treaty as a reason. This is known to everyone. But the absence of a Soviet signature does not in any way weaken the legal force of the treaty or give Japan grounds to review the commitments it took on itself.

In general, it seems to me, Japan will scarcely manage to lay solid legal foundations under the claims it is making to the Soviet Union. Japan has no right to the "northern territories." But for me this is not the end of it. The wealth of life and history cannot be reduced to law. For Japan and the Japanese, the problem of the "northern territories" is much broader than legal wrangles. And this is not so much a question of economics and politics as a question of the graves of several generations of Japanese, of the religious and moral factors, and of the space that the problem of the "northern territories" has occupied in the Japanese national conscience. You cannot pursue a realistic policy without taking this into account.

It is evidently inadvisable—despite what the Japanese side may want—to consider the future of all the disputed territories en masse, at once. The "two and two" formula would be more beneficial. The first "two" being the Lesser Kurils (the Habomai islands and Shikotan). In 1956 we promised to hand them over to the Japanese after the signing of a peace treaty. Promises must be carried out. We could return to that position.

As for the second "pair"—the southern part of the Greater Kurils (Kunashir and Iturup), as I see it, it is hard to imagine an unambiguous decision regarding their fate. On the one hand, they cannot be "simply" surrendered. That would aggravate the already complex situation within the country. We can hardly easily discount economic and political elements today. On the other hand, we cannot fail to realize the extraordinary importance of wide-ranging long-term cooperation with Japan. And that would be clearly impossible if we confined ourselves to the first alternative.

A compromise oriented on the future is what is needed here. We could tell the Japanese something like this. Circumstances are changing—approaches and positions are also changing. Suppose the Soviet Union emerges from the crisis. Suppose the relaxation of international tension deepens. Suppose the question of a security system in Asia, in the Asia-Pacific region is set on a practical footing. Suppose Japan rids itself of foreign military bases and armed forces within the framework of the transition to a new world order. It is quite likely that under the new conditions the Soviet Union would be able to display good will and accommodate Japan. Not because Japan has a right to the aforementioned islands. But because the Soviet Union deems it possible to renounce its right to them.

It will take quite a long time for favorable conditions to "materialize." But, provided the sides are willing, this period can be filled by working out various interim options for joint use of the southern Kuril islands while, of course, preserving all the USSR's sovereign rights.

If Japan does not only live for today, if it looks to its future and sees the prospects for the development of good-neighborly relations with the Soviet Union, it could be interested in the "two and two" formula. But, to our great regret, the Japanese Government has hitherto occupied a tough stance, essentially based on the following ultimatum: all or nothing—either recognize Japan's sovereignty over all the "northern territories" at once, or... I placed dots here since I don't know how people in Tokyo picture "nothing" as regards Soviet-Japanese relations. Bad relations? But it is not only Moscow, after all, that stands to lose.

Incidentally. The demand for the return of the "northern territories" is accompanied by a tremendous political and propaganda hullabaloo in Japan. Over the last 23

years the Japanese parliament's House of Representatives and House of Councillors have adopted resolutions on the "northern territories" on 14 and nine occasions respectively. "Northern Territories' Day" is celebrated on 7 February every year. There are various associations and societies that support the government's territorial claims. All this creates an atmosphere conducive to ultimatums, pressure, and threats in which it is hard for the Soviet Union to adopt any constructive decisions. Rather, the reverse...

I am absolutely convinced that M.S. Gorbachev is coming to Tokyo with the most sincere intentions of helping to unravel the tight knots and develop Soviet-Japanese relations as much as possible. But Gorbachev's Japanese interlocutors would be acting shortsightedly if they demanded something from him that even the President of the USSR cannot supply. Life goes on, history goes on... On the day that Mikhail Sergeyevich set off for Japan, my grandson Makar Sergeyevich celebrated his second birthday. If we settle all the problems, what will our grandchildren do? We won't be offending them if we leave something for them to do.

Japan's Kaifu Interviewed on Upcoming Talks

PM1504230591 Moscow TRUD in Russian 16 Apr 91 pp 1,3

[Interview with Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu by unidentified TRU correspondent; date and place not given: "Building the Future Together"]

[Text] Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu answers TRUD's questions, setting out his position on a number of problems that will be discussed at the meeting now beginning with USSR President M.S. Gorbachev.

[TRUD] Mr. Prime Minister, people in the Soviet Union keep an interested, attentive eye on Japan's successful development. Could you say what characterizes this year, 1991, in this respect and what the country's main aims are?

[Kaifu] Thank you for your assessment of Japan's successful socioeconomic development. Japan is today the world's second economic power, producing roughly 14 percent of the world GNP. I think that many factors have rendered this development possible: our people's love for hard work, and a free and open market and society that ensures the emergence of initiative, along with a favorable international environment symbolized by the free trade system. This year I would largely like to continue the policy that has hitherto borne fruit and, by resolving emerging problems in a fitting manner, ensure Japan's further economic growth and at the same time help to enhance general world market conditions.

As for Japan's fundamental state goals for the future, they are above all to ensure peace. While keeping Japan prosperous, we will share the fruits of our achievements with all countries and contribute as much as we can to maintaining stability and peace within the international community.

[TRUD] Our neighboring states are, as it were, destined by fate itself for extensive, mutually beneficial trade and economic cooperation. However, this cooperation has hitherto not accorded from any viewpoint with our countries' potential and real possibilities. In your opinion, what is preventing us from engaging in successful trade and cooperating in opening up natural resources, in the scientific and technical spheres, and in setting up joint enterprises?

[Kaifu] I would not say that there has been no progress in Japanese-Soviet relations in the economic sphere. That opinion does not reflect reality. Japanese-Soviet trade has registered a record high, attaining $6.9 billion in 1989. Our country was fourth among the USSR's Western trading partners in 1989 after the FRG, Finland, and Italy.

Our country is providing all types of technical assistance in order to actively help the Soviet economy in its transition to the market. We are making efforts to ensure that an agreement on trade and payments is concluded during President Gorbachev's visit, along with agreements on border trade and other matters.

Of course, this does not deny another reality, that is the fact that tremendous untapped opportunities still exist in bilateral relations. If the economic reforms in the Soviet Union develop successfully and Japanese-Soviet relations are fully normalized after the conclusion of a peace treaty, business circles in our country will at the same time increase their cooperation with the USSR with the fullest of confidence, and this will spark off renewed development of the Asia-Pacific region.

By the strictest criteria, there are two things preventing this potential from being realized. One being an objective economic factor. If a market is attractive and secure, Western enterprises will enter it, competing with one another. By and large the Soviet Union offers the potential of a gigantic market, but this potential has remained unrealized because of limited hard-currency stocks. The infrastructure necessary for foreign enterprises' capital investments, along with a solid legal system making it possible to work in peace, are still being set up.

The most important reason, however, is the lack of a long-term stable political foundation between Japan and the USSR because the territorial question has still not been resolved and a peace treaty not concluded 45 years after the war. If Japan and the USSR resolve this question and embark on genuine economic cooperation, a new industrial center for Asia and the Pacific will take shape in Siberia and the Far East using the experience and technologies gleaned by both countries' peoples. As a result of this improvement in Japanese-Soviet relations both countries will not be confined to developing bilateral relations but will be able to develop dialogue and

mutual understanding, along with relations of cooperation which are of significance for ensuring peace and prosperity in the Asia-Pacific region—throughout the international community, moreover. However, the reality is that it was impossible to develop genuine cooperation with the USSR in conditions where the resolution of postwar problems was put off owing to the Japanese people's sentiments.

[TRUD] Do you nonetheless think it possible, Mr. Prime Minister, to seek some kind of mutually acceptable solution to these problems—a quest that presupposes some kind of countermovement? Are certain changes in the Japanese position possible in this context?

[Kaifu] As regards the problem of the northern territories, Japan expects a change in the Soviet side's position. Since Japan is convinced that it is only by resolving this problem that we can dispel the mistrust of the USSR that developed in the Japanese people after the war and put Japanese-Soviet relations on a stable footing in order to ensure that their rich potential blossoms.

With their Joint Declaration in 1956 Japan and the USSR ended the state of war between them and resumed diplomatic relations. However, a peace treaty has still not been concluded and relations between the two countries remain unstable. The sole reason why a peace treaty was not concluded is that the territorial question between the two countries has not been resolved. As regards the territorial question, we demand that the Soviet Union return age-old Japanese territory. In 1855 Japan and Russia peacefully recognized the four islands in question—the Habomai, Shikotan, Kunashir, and Iturup—to be Japanese territory and from then until the end of the war in 1945 they were owned by no country but Japan, and the Soviet Union itself never objected to this. At the end of World War II, in violation of the existing Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Treaty and also in a form that contravened the "principle of territorial nonexpansion" shared by the Allied powers, including the USSR, the USSR occupied these four islands and has continued to hold on to them since. What is more, the Soviet authorities at the time realized that these four islands had been Japanese territory from time immemorial and were, consequently, liable to U.S. occupation, but, realizing that there were no U.S. troops on these islands, immediately occupied them.

During President Gorbachev's visit to Japan I would like, in conjunction with President Gorbachev, to outline extensively new Japanese-Soviet relations. The territorial question—a complex issue separating our peoples—must be resolved as the basis of this outline, a peace treaty concluded, and relations of political trust between the two countries rendered unshakable. I think that now is a most important time for Japanese and Soviet leaders to adopt decisions boldly.

[TRUD] How by and large do you regard the prospects for Japanese-Soviet relations?

[Kaifu] I think that East-West confrontation within the international community in the 21st century will give way to dialogue and cooperation and the North-South divide will give way to a just distribution of wealth on a global scale. I think that, if events develop in that way, Japanese-Soviet relations should enter a new phase that will fully uncover their varied potential.

First, a peace treaty should be concluded as a foundation for relations of genuine trust between the two countries in order to ensure this. I think that what we must now do is not evade this problem because of its complexity or shelve it for the next generation, but resolve this problem in order not to leave future generations with throwbacks to the postwar period. If the question of the northern territories is resolved and a peace treaty is concluded, the foundation for mutual trust between the two countries' peoples will indeed be unshakable.

Second, resting on a peace treaty, Japanese-Soviet relations will demonstrate dynamic development in various spheres—in the economy, science, technology, culture, and human exchanges—as befits both countries. For instance, as I have already said, relations of economic cooperation between Japan and the USSR will create a new industrial center in Siberia and the Far East region of the USSR for the Asia-Pacific basin. Further, ties between the two countries at various levels will develop, free travel will broaden, and a host of Russian- and Japanese-language schools will be set up in both countries, that is, both countries' peoples will indeed understand one another's culture and traditions.

Third, as I said earlier, against the backdrop of this development in Japanese-Soviet relations, both countries will advance dialogue and mutual understanding, along with relations of cooperation that are significant for peace and prosperity in the Asia-Pacific region and in the international community as a whole.

In order to promise future generations these glowing prospects, it is now that both countries' politicians must make efforts to improve Japanese-Soviet relations with supreme responsibility. Espousing this viewpoint, I would like both sides to try to make President Gorbachev's visit to Japan one of truly historic significance for Japanese-Soviet relations.

[TRUD] The task of turning the Asia-Pacific region into an area of stability and genuine good-neighborliness and cooperation is becoming more urgent in the changing international climate, in our opinion. Do you believe that cooperation between Japan and the USSR in the creation of such a zone is possible and desirable? What contribution could the United States make in this respect?

[Kaifu] Conflicts and confrontations continue to exist in the Asia-Pacific region, but if Japan and the USSR got more seriously involved in resolving these, they could make an important contribution to stability in this region. For example, we hope that setting up diplomatic relations between the USSR and the ROK and talks on

the normalization of relations between Japan and the DPRK will significantly promote stability on the Korean peninsula. From this point of view I would like to stress that a solution to the territorial question between Japan and the USSR, which is one of the main regional conflicts in Asia, and the swift development of relations of cooperation based on genuine trust between Japan and the USSR would in themselves make a significant contribution to stability and prosperity in the Asia-Pacific region.

Opinions are sometimes expressed in the Soviet Union about the need for a new multilateral security system in the Asia-Pacific region but, to my mind, in order to achieve peace and stability in this region all efforts need to be primarily applied to settling existing contradictions and conflicts, and the idea of creating a new single system all at once seems premature and does not seem to be based on Asian realities. Furthermore, in this region, with its complex web of individual countries' interests and their vision of a threat and of allied relations, where the strategic situation and geopolitical conditions differ from those in Europe in a cardinal way, an approach that favors an overall regional framework of security not unlike the European one seems dubious. In order to achieve long-term stability and prosperity in the Asia-Pacific region its countries must advance toward this using methods that they themselves consider to be the most suitable.

I would also like to add that the main interest of the region's countries lies in the sphere of economics. Mechanisms such as ASEAN, APEC (Conference for Pacific Economic Cooperation), and PECC (Pacific Economic Cooperation Council) already exist for the development of cooperation aimed at the economic prosperity of this region. They desire further economic development on the basis of the principles of the market economy and the strengthening of relations of interdependence. Our country is also actively assisting in this, inter alia, through economic cooperation.

As far as the United States is concerned, I would like to point out the following fact: That country is both an Atlantic and a Pacific state, and U.S. trade with Asian and Pacific countries now exceeds the volume of American trade with European countries. Note that the U.S. presence and close Japanese-American relations are a positive factor in the basic mechanism for providing stability and prosperity in the Asia-Pacific region.

U.S.-Japan Contacts on Gorbachev Visit Reviewed

LD1304085191 Moscow TASS in English 0827 GMT 13 Apr 91

[By TASS political news analyst Askold Biruykov]

[Text] Moscow April 13 TASS—It has been reported from Tokyo that the Government of Japan after long hesitation has at last determined its course towards discussing with the Soviet Union problems of ensuring peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region. This subject is believed to become one of central items during the forthcoming Soviet-Japanese top-level meeting in the Japanese capital.

The very fact of such a decision by Tokyo can only be welcomed, for, in a sense, it signifies a step, as is customary to say, "in the right direction". It is no secret that right up until recently Japanese official circles in every way evaded the discussion of this subject despite the fact that an increasing number of countries in the region began to show a lively and understandable interest in it.

But how do they visualise the framework of discussion of regional security issues with the distinguished Soviet guest? During the recent meeting with Ichiro Ozawa, a prominent figure of Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic Party, President Mikhail Gorbachev spoke out in favour of discussing these issues thoroughly, including the possibility of Soviet-Japanese cooperation which is of importance for the entire Asia-Pacific region.

The Japanese side, as follows from press reports, would like to limit the discussion of the problem to a certain framework. In particular, it is perfectly evident that Tokyo is against discussing the problem on a multilateral basis. It would like to conduct discussion only within the framework of bilateral consultations.

In justification of the negative attitude to Soviet proposals, Tokyo pleads "lack of trust under the conditions of the unresolved nature of the 'northern territories' issue" and "the presence of Soviet Armed Forces in the Far East".

The latest decision by the government is interpreted as an attempt to seize the initiative from the USSR and to avail itself of the dialogue with Moscow primarily to seek cuts in the Soviet Armed Forces in the Far East and the promulgation of data concerning redeployment of combat hardware from the European part of the country to east-of-the-Urals areas".

The way the question is put is not reassuring, I would say. There is something artificial in it. The Soviet Union reduced, and reduces its armed forces in the Far East, unilaterally, too, and is prepared to continue to reduce them, especially on the basis of reciprocity for the benefit of stronger stability and security for everyone. Data on redeployments of combat hardware have been repeatedly published in the Soviet press and given in statements by Soviet military leaders.

Japan is already referred to as an "orphan of detente" for its timidity and lack of independence in matters of global politics. As if defending itself, Tokyo refers to Washington, asserting that on the eve of the Soviet president's visit to Japan the U.S. Administration ostensibily urged the Japanese Government "to show caution" during the discussion of security issues in the Asia-Pacific region

with the Soviet Union and not to accept lightly Soviet proposals concerning multilateral meetings on regional security issues.

But, firstly, the matter does not concern the adoption of such proposals and, secondly, proposals of this kind are made not only by the Soviet Union but also come from a number of countries of a different political system, belonging to the given region and interested in securing peace and stability in it.

One would like to ask: Is not it time for Japan to stop referring to Washington and try at last to show its worth independently among countries in the region which advocate a search for effective ways to ensure peace in it and to establish constructive cooperation among all countries?

DPRK Urged To Accept Nuclear Inspection

LD1504123591 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] The Soviet Union has warned North Korea it will cut off all nuclear supplies and cooperation unless Pyongyang agrees to international inspections of its nuclear facilities.

The REUTER News Agency has reported that the statement was made today at a news conference in Tokyo by Vladlen Martynov, director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. A day before, the South Korean news agency YONHAP reported that the South Korean President No Tae-u was to appeal to the Soviet President Gorbachev during their forthcoming meeting to prevent the creation of nuclear weapons in North Korea.

Commentator Views Upcoming ROK Summit

SK1604022591 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 15 Apr 91

[By station commentator Oleg Alekseyev, from the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] As already reported, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev will arrive in the ROK's Cheju Island on 19 April after his official visit to Japan and will meet with ROK President No Tae-u.

In an interview with a TASS reporter, ROK Ambassador to the Soviet Union Kong No-myong said that this visit will further enhance mutual understanding not only between the leaders of the two countries but also between the people of the two countries.

Station commentator Oleg Alekseyev states that the Soviet Union also regards the significance of this visit, the third of its kind, entirely from this viewpoint.

I would like to simply say that this meeting will not only have a good influence on the relations between Seoul and Moscow, but that it will also be advantageous to other countries.

The development in mutual understanding and cooperation between the Soviet Union and the ROK itself has already become an element in the support of peace and stability in the whole region of the Far East. This will also be of help in normalizing the situation on the Korean Peninsula.

However, not everyone agrees with this kind of opinion. Recently, one of the ROK's opposition parties sharply criticized the upcoming meeting between Gorbachev and No Tae-u.

In a statement, which is of the same opinion as other materials that forecast cooperative relations between Moscow and Seoul, the opposition party emphasized that this kind of meeting is a process by which the Soviet Union can participate in the two Koreas policy.

However, is it not true that two Koreas, which have been maintained during the past 40 years, already exist?

The post-war history divided the country into South and North. The two countries, which are each moving toward different goals, have already been formed. This is a fact which cannot be overlooked.

Would it be rational to claim that two countries do not exist on the Korean Peninsula? For the fellow countrymen of the North and South to live under friendly terms is another issue.

Last year, when North-South premier-level talks were started, the Soviet Union clearly revealed its attitude of entirely supporting this process. Even today, this opinion has not changed.

We hope that the recent difficult problems which have appeared can be solved as soon as possible and hope that [word indistinct] work can be actively resumed for mutual understanding.

As stated by former Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev, the friendly relations the Soviet Union has with the ROK and the DPRK will play a big role in this process.

Near East & South Asia

Baker Sees Damascus Talks as 'Extremely Useful'

PM1604095591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Apr 91 Union Edition p 4

[Correspondent M. Kozhevnikov report: "Next Stop Geneva"]

[Text] Damascus—Damascus was the last point in J. Baker's Near East tour; he had talks there with Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad Thursday [11 April].

As surmised, the main topic of the talks was the situation prevailing in the region following the Gulf crisis. According to a statement by Presidential Palace Spokesman J. Khuri, particular attention was devoted to the Arab-Israeli conflict and the prospects for settling it, along with the possible means of resolving the key—Palestinian—problem. According to him, the consultations were of a friendly nature and revealed both sides' desire to continue the dialogue.

By and large the press conference which J. Baker and his counterpart, Syrian Foreign Minister F. al-Shar', gave for local and foreign journalists took place on an optimistic note. The U.S. secretary of state described the exchange of opinions in Damascus as extremely useful. He stressed that it has become possible under current conditions to make progress on the Near East settlement process.

In turn, Syria's foreign minister expressed satisfaction at the contacts. He confirmed that there was mutual understanding on some individual problems but that there are still elements in need of additional study. F. al-Shar' singled out the desire manifested by Syria and the United States to settle the crisis in the region as the main result of the talks. He believes that a a peace conference based on UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 must be convened in order for this to occur.

Observers reckon that Damascus still cleaves to its own principled position and insists on Tel Aviv's strict fulfillment of the well-known UN resolutions which envisage, in particular, the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories and giving the Palestinians the right to self-determination. Syria's leaders believe that the settlement process can get under way only if Tel Aviv displays readiness to compromise.

On the other hand, commentators are unanimous in the opinion that Washington's diplomatic activity in the Near East will intensify. This activity is coming about within the framework of intensive preparations for U.S. President G. Bush's trip to this region before the end of the year.

According to news agency reports, J. Baker went to Geneva from Damascus, where he will hold talks with Jordanian Foreign Minister T. al-Masri and S. Perez, leader of the Israeli Labor Party, along with representatives of the European community.

Conference Compromise Seen Eluding Baker

LD1604035691 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Arabic 1400 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Andrey Vasileyev commentary]

[Text] After returning to Washington at the end of his tour of the Middle East, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker declared that there was a consensus on the need to hold direct talks between Israel and the neighboring Arab countries, and the Palestinians, in order to bring about a lasting peace. Our radio commentator Andrey Vasileyev, had this to say:

The word consensus used by the U.S. Secretary of State can be interpreted in many ways. It will undoubtedly be thought that Baker meant, for his part, the convening of what is known as the regional conference on a settlement in the Middle East. It is supposed that, in addition to Israel, Palestinian representatives, delegations from Egypt, Jordan, Syria, the Soviet Union, the U.S. and Saudi Arabia would also attend.

The principle of a regional conference is not rejected in Israel. This is exactly what has been confirmed by the secretary-general of the Israeli prime minister's office. However, the official also stated that this can only happen if the two superpowers do not interfere in the content of the talks and refrain from offering any recommendations to the participants in this conference. Yitzhaq Shamir, on his part, said that it was impossible to allow the participation of Palestinian representatives from the PLO in this conference.

The idea of a regional conference does not, on the whole, receive the wholehearted support of the Arabs. Cairo is prepared to examine this idea, but it does not want to make any serious diplomatic moves. Syria, has shown more reservation than enthusiasm in this affair. Let us not forget that Israel will be obliged, in any case, to deal with its two neighbors, Lebanon and Jordan, much less the PLO. As far as Lebanon is concerned, there are obvious doubts about the stability of its central authority and the completion of its sovereignty, because the Palestinian factions in south Lebanon are in no hurry to implement Beirut's order to disarm. As for the Jordanian monarch, King Husayn, he has not taken any steps which differ in any way from the stands taken by the PLO.

Baker's talks with the Palestinian delegation also showed the lack of any progress in the direction of a settlement. The PLO is strongly insisting on its legitimate right to represent the Palestinian people, while Israel is stubbornly refusing to deal with the PLO. Arab diplomats and others can today do one thing, namely, to suggest holding talks with the participation of a Palestinian delegation which does not informally replace the PLO, provided that the members of this delegation are chosen or appointed by the PLO. All the proposals on the convening of a Middle East conference, be it reginal or international, revolve around this very idea. So far, it does not seem that Baker has succeeded in reaching a compromise with all the possible participants in the conference.

Pavlov on Upcoming Meeting With Shamir

TA1604081491 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 16 Apr 91 p 1

[Report on an "exclusive" interview with Soviet Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov by correspondent Gid'on Kouts on 15 April]

[Excerpt] London—"The cart should not be put before the horse," Soviet Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov stated yesterday in an exclusive interview with DAVAR's correspondent in London on the eve of his scheduled meeting today with Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir.

Pavlov referred to the question of whether the Soviet Union intends to establish diplomatic relations with Israel as a requisite for its participation in a regional conference on peace in the Middle East, as Israel is demanding. Pavlov said that in the meeting, he and Shamir will primarily discuss the improvement of bilateral relations. The Soviet prime minister observed that the Soviet Union wants to improve these ties, which should definitely be awarded the appropriate tools. [sentence as published] "Israel is a small country, but it represents a great nation to which we feel a proximity. Obviously, what happens in Israel and the peace process in the region matters to us. We will see how we can contribute to this process, regardless of the forum in which it is conducted: a regional or some other type of conference. The issues of the establishment of diplomatic relations and the appropriate negotiating forum are part of the improvement of relations and the process of consultations between the two countries," Pavlov noted. He added that a precise agenda has not been set for the meeting with Shamir. That is why he did not want to talk about the possible questions to be raised in the meeting or even if all the questions will be discussed. Yitzhaq Shamir stated last night that Israel is interested in the Soviet Union's participation in a regional peace conference, but pointed out that the establishment of diplomatic relations is a "sine qua non." It is assessed that Pavlov, who is not the sole decision maker on foreign affairs, will convey the contents of the meeting with Shamir to Mikhail Gorbachev. [passage omitted]

West Europe

Pavlov Visit to United Kingdom Continues

Meets Major, Norway's Brundtland

LD1504142791 Moscow TASS in English 1409 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] London April 15 TASS—Soviet Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov had a businesslike conversation with British Prime Minister John Major here today.

They discussed the state of and prospects for the development of Soviet-British relations. It was stated on both sides that the governments of the two countries will take the necessary steps to make fuller use of the potential for Soviet-British business interaction.

At Major's request, Pavlov summed up the Soviet Cabinet of Minister's measures to stabilise the country's economic and financial situation. The British prime minister was told about the programme to overcome the crisis, which was set out by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev at a meeting of the Federation Council.

Major showed understanding for the Soviet economic problems and confirmed his government's intention to promote economic reforms in the Soviet Union.

British Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Douglas Hogg and Soviet Ambassador to Great Britain Leonid Zamyatin took part in the conversation.

On the same day Pavlov talked with Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland. The conversation passed in the candid and friendly manner typical of Soviet-Norwegian relations.

The prime ministers talked about bilateral relations and other topics of interest. They discussed existing problems and the possibility of resolving them in accordance with the principles of partnership and goodneighbourliness.

Brundtland said that an official visit by the Soviet president is awaited in Norway. It should give fresh impetus to Soviet-Norwegian cooperation and interaction.

The sides also discussed a draft of a European charter on energy and its possible linkage with broad-based cooperation to supply the Soviet Union with food and contemporary technology for agriculture.

Meets Hungary's Antall

LD1404195391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1905 GMT 14 Apr 91

[Text] London, 14 Apr (TASS)—A meeting took place here today between V.S. Pavlov, USSR Prime Minister, and J. Antall, prime minister of Hungary.

Several issues of Soviet-Hungarian relations were discussed, primarily economic cooperation. Particular attention was paid to examining opportunities to avert a sharp fall in bilateral trade, to jointly assess ways of ensuring stability in reciprocal supplies, and to work out ways of establishing socially oriented market economies in both countries.

The sides noted that the exchange of opinions was useful.

Cited on Miner's Strikes, Gorbachev

LD1504133791 Moscow TASS in English 1319 GMT 15 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Levchenko]

[Text] London April 15 TASS—The Soviet Government believes that the country's economic problems can be resolved by the year 1993 provided people work diligently and order and discipline are installed in the economy, said Soviet Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov, here in connection with the opening of the European Bank for Resconstruction and Development.

In an interview with the BBC today, Pavlov said people are tired of the lack of dicipline and organisation. "If we succeed in introducing order, we will be making rapid progress," he said.

Pavlov said that in the present conditions strikes do not contribute to solving the country's economic problems. They only aggravate these problems.

He said that those who are concerned about the destiny of the people, who believe that the country is in danger should persuade the miners to call off the strike and report for work and decide problems in a constitutional way. Pavlov said that the reasoning of the Russian Federation's leaders, who support the strike, is not always clear to him.

The prime minister ruled out the use of troops against striking miners. "As a professional politician I know that a man cannot be forced to work. This cannot be done by troops either. This is absolutely impossible. Besides that I know our people well. The Army will not attack people."

Answering a question Pavlov said that he does not perceive any threats to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. "I see no reason for him to think he is in danger. The process of democratic reforms is one of our greatest achivements. I do not want to say that Gorbachev will be president for life. Other people may emerge who will be better equipped to deal with new economic and political conditions. But we shall never face a military coup or a military regime like that of the colonels regime in Greece. I do not think that Gorbachev should fear such developments," Pavlov said.

Addresses European Bank Reception

LD1604005191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2248 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] London, 16 Apr (TASS)—Following the ceremony at the opening the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) at Lancaster House, a government reception building, a special meeting of heads of states and governments who had arrived in London took place yesterday. It was chaired by British Prime Minister John Major.

Speaking at the meeting USSR Prime Minister V.S. Pavlov said:

Esteemed chairman, your excellencies, ladies and gentlemen! From the very start the Soviet Union actively supported the president's idea of setting up a European Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of this project both in fundamental and purely pragmatic aspects. In the fundamental one, because it reflects the depth and irreversibility of changes taking place in Europe and the entire world today. In the pragmatic one, because an institution is being created which is potentially capable of rendering assistance to east European countries and the Soviet Union in their advance toward a more mature civic democratic society and, simultaneously, toward creating an efficient economy functioning on market principles.

Today, on behalf of the Soviet Union and its president, I must express our unconditional support for the bank and give assurance of our readiness to cooperate with it actively and in a responsible manner. That is exactly the position on the bank stated by the USSR president during the official visit to Moscow by Mr. Attali, who has now been elected president of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

There is no doubt that the realization of the international significance of perestroyka in the Soviet Union has intensified considerably during these years, not only in Europe, but throughout the world. But here, in Europe, its perception is deeper by virtue of a simple and perfectly obvious truth: The failure of perestroyka would have far-reaching negative consequences both for economic relations between the states of this region and for their internal development and for European affairs as a whole.

Despite the system of centralized planning which has existed in the USSR until the present day, the participation of our country in European trade has in no way been a secondary factor. The Soviet Union has occupied a quite definite and important place in the European state system, providing energy and resources. A considerable part of the output of European and, particularly, the East European countries, has been marketed on the Soviet market. If today the violation of these ties by virtue of a number of objective reasons gives rise to serious difficulties on the part of our partners, then this serves as yet further proof of the great significance of the Soviet economic potential for the development of the European economy.

The new emerging Europe cannot ignore this potential, because the risk connected with the failure of perestroyka is in no way merely the risk of wasting what has been achieved in the past, but, to an even greater extent, it is the risk of further losses in the future.

The timeliness of creating a European Bank for Reconstruction and Development is obvious. Also obvious is the need for a most rapid definition of priority directions for cooperation between the Soviet Union and the bank, and for the elaboration of a program for such cooperation, in which we are ready to take part.

If one follows in full measure the logic which led to the decision to create the bank then one cannot but come to the conclusion that the bank itself is merely one of the elements from which there will take shape a far wider field of cooperation in a united Europe. To make it effective for such important processes of renewal and restructuring in east European countries and the USSR, it is essential to picture correctly for oneself the situation in these countries and, of course, in the Soviet Union.

The situation in the Soviet Union is indeed unique. And this expresses itself in the fact that the process of reform of the economic and social mechanism in the USSR can only take place at the same time as processes for the stabilization of and structural restructuring of the economy. Moreover, we are starting the movement to the market practically from zero, since the natural development of market relations was interrupted in the Soviet Union for a long time.

Because of these reasons, a kind of "closed circle" situation took shape in the USSR: Setting into motion market mechanisms presupposes the use of economic incentives, but at the same time the introduction of elements of the market does not have a fitting stimulating influence, while in some cases it brings with it a recession.

To break this circle a program for the European communities' member-states to promote economic reforms in the East must be truly broad-scaled and capable of imparting the system with a necessary impetus. It must integrate disparate efforts of individual states, individual institutions and individual firms, subordinating them to a single strategic task and creating a resource potential adequate to it.

Naturally, a program of this kind cannot be based on the principles of charity. The market, undoubtedly, is capable of having a beneficial influence on society's life but only when its laws are observed and when the principle of material interest is active.

Which way can this interest be secured for the European communities? First of all, concrete and large-scale projects are required for this. For example, there is the idea of setting up a European power engineering communty, the implementation of which has to satisfy the growing power requirements of European states by using various sources. The Soviet Union's power resources could become one such source, and quite an important one. In principle our country is ready to participate in such a program. A combination of the current and prospective interests of the Soviet Union itself can be attained through linking an all-European single power engineering porgram with a program for solving the food problem in our country which we need precisely today.

If one examines the question of the possible directions of cooperation between the Soviet Union and the communities in a functional context, then, undoubtedly, one of the important directions is that of assisting the Soviet Union in implementing measures aimed at the consistent introduction of the internal convertiblity of the ruble. This will have decisive significance both from the point of view of economic stablity, and from the point of view of ensuring movement toward a market, and creating conditions for attracting foreign capital. In the Soviet Government's program internal convertibility is seen as one of the most immediate and priority tasks.

The countries of the communities have the opportunity of rendering the necessary assistance to the Soviet Union in solving it. The crisis phenomena in the economy of the Soviet Union are reducing our export possibilities, and combined with the move toward external markets by insufficiently competent organizations, this leads to complications in dealing with foreign firms. In these conditions definite assistance on the part of the West would not only be an effective aid in the matter of achieving convertibility, but would also meet the interests of the Western states themselves and many foreign firms. Specific steps in this very direction would be discussed in the very near future.

Of course, measures to flood the domestic market in the USSR with goods—first and foremost by increasing their production inside the country—could become the most effective way toward achieving internal convertibility in the present situation.

Vigorous and large-scale assistance to the Soviet Union on the part of the European communities and the European Bank is in no way restricted in the interests of our country alone. It will also have a healthy effect on the USSR'S trade ties with our traditional partners in eastern Europe. We are a long way from underestimating the positive role of these ties for the stabilization of the Soviet economy, just as, incidentally, for the economy of the east European countries themselves. Maintaining the Soviet market for many enterprises in these countries is a vitally important necessity. A further infringement of trade ties between the USSR and Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and the new lands in the east of the unified Germany would be inevitably fraught with a deterioration in the overall economic situation in Europe and the destabilization of its trade markets.

Such is our point of view on the question of the interaction with the European communities at the present stage of the profound, truly historic changes which are taking place in the Soviet Union and the other countries of Eastern Europe.

I thank you for your attention.

Further Reportage on Pavlov Visit to UK

WA1504192591

For further reportage on the visit by Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov to the United Kingdom, please see the United Kingdom section of the 15 April West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Supreme Soviet

Coal Minister Appointed, Railroad Law Adopted

LD1504201391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Apr 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] The USSR Supreme Soviet session continued its work in the Kremlin today:

At this morning's sitting, the deputies of the union legislature examined at a second reading the draft law on railroad transportation. [passage omitted]

At the evening sitting—which was a closed sitting—after detailed discussion of these articles, the law was adopted. A resolution on implementing it was also approved.

By a majority of votes, the Supreme Soviet gave its agreement to the appointment of Shchadov as minister of the USSR coal industry.

Following a report by First Deputy Prime Minister Doguzhiyev the Supreme Soviet once again discussed the situation that has come about in the country in connection with the miners' strikes.

Further on Railroad Law

LD1504151191 Moscow TASS in English 1502 GMT 15 Apr 91

[By TASS legislative correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow April 15 TASS—At a joint meeting of its chambers today, the USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament) adopted a law on railway transport in the second reading. The law determines economic, legal, and organisational foundations for the activity of railway transport and regulates interaction with managerial bodies.

The law stipulates that since railway transport is the basis of the country's transport system it is all-union property.

The legislative act also prohibits "deliberate blockage of transport communications and other unlawful actions interferring with smooth and unobstructed operation of transport." As is known, the blockage of railways has been used more than once in the past few years in a number of republics as a means of political pressure.

In the afternoon the parliamentarians held a closed-door meeting at which it was intended to consider amendments and supplement to the law on the procedure of settling labour disputes.

Supreme Soviet Presidium Meets 15 Apr

LD1504211591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1745 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow, 15 Apr (TASS)—A meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium took place today in the Kremlin under the chairmanship of Anatoliy Lukyanov.

According to a report from Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the Council of Nationalities, the question of procedure for the USSR Supreme Soviet discussing the draft treaty on the union of sovereign republics was considered.

The Presidium discussed the USSR president's presentation on the USSR law "on introducing changes and additions to legislative acts of the USSR on labor." In accordance with Article 127/3 of the USSR Constitution, the president returned this law to the Supreme Soviet for repeat discussion and voting, having in mind that certain clauses in it contradict existing legislation and must be removed. The Presidium submitted this question for the scrutiny of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Questions were discussed connected with the continuation of the work of the fifth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in April and the first half of May.

The Presidium also reviewed questions of the development of interlegislative ties of the USSR Supreme Soviet and certain other questions of state life.

Political & Social

Ivashko on Plenum, Gorbachev Resignation Rumors

LD1504182991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] In the view of Vladimir Ivashko, deputy general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, one of the main themes of the party plenum slated for 24 April could be the Communist Party's activity under conditions of a new political system. In any case, he will personally advocate discussing this issue. This is reported by the NOVOSTI agency. Concerning rumors of a possible Gorbachev resignation from the post of general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Ivashko stressed that such matters are not dealt with at a plenum but at a party congress. The deputy general secretary noted that at turning points of history many transient figures appear on the surface of political life and it seems to some of them that they have come forever but history, in Ivashko's view, will put everyone in his place.

2d Channel To Be Turned Over to Russian TV

LD1504173691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1230 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] The weekly KOMMERSANT reports that the popular television program "Vzglyad," which became the first victim of political censorship by the new central

television management headed by Leonid Kravchenko, has found an original way of acquainting USSR television viewers' with its work. Today, "Vzglyad" creators and anchormen Aleksandr Lyubimov and Aleksandr Politkovskiy are going to register the joint-stock company "Vzglyad From Underground" [Vzglyad Iz Podpolya] in the Leninskiy Rayon Executive Committee in Moscow.

Leonid Kravchenko gave his official agreement on 9 April to hand over the second channel of Central Television to Russian Television starting 12 May, KOMMERSANT also reports. From 12 May the Russian State Radio and Television Company will broadcast daily for six hours and fifteen minutes.

Shakhnazarov on Legislative Accord Offer

PM1604082091 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 14-15 Apr 91 p 19

[Interview with Gorbachev Political Adviser Georgiy Shakhnazarov by Enrico Franceschini in Moscow; date not given; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Moscow—Mikhail Gorbachev is offering Yeltsin an alliance in the legislature, not a coalition government. He is asking the radicals to agree on a program with the CPSU, to support him in the Supreme Soviet, and then to allow the Pavlov government's Communist ministers to implement it—a formula which is reminiscent of the "historical compromise" in Italy in the seventies, when the government party—the Christian Democratic Party—received tacit legislative support from the opposition Italian Communist Party.

This was announced by Georgiy Shakhnazarov, Gorbachev's political adviser, who this week revealed to the press the president's readiness to hold a "roundtable" with the other political forces—an idea put forward by Yeltsin, the leader of the radicals. For Yeltsin, the "roundtable" was to be the first step toward a sharing out of government ministries; but yesterday even the newspapers loyal to him started to support the idea of a pact with Gorbachev as the only way of saving perestroyka. And in this interview with LA REPUBBLICA, Shakhnazarov explains that there is no time to lose, because the Kremlin leader is now exposed to a dangerous attack from the conservative wing of the CPSU.

[Franceschini] What precisely does Gorbachev's proposal mean?

[Shakhnazarov] It takes several parties to form a coalition government and for the time being the radicals are a group, a movement, and not a party. However, I did not talk of a "coalition" but of an agreement on the drafting of a joint program. What we are proposing, therefore, is a legislative agreement—cooperation in the legislature with all the political forces. And if there is a willingness on the part of the radicals and conservatives to work toward this objective, the "center" will be prepared to support it.

[Franceschini] Vladimir Ivashko, deputy general secretary of the CPSU, opposed the idea of a "roundtable," recalling that a similar experiment was carried out in East Europe and always led to the Communists being excluded from the government.

[Shakhnazarov] It is true that East Europe's experience is not very reassuring for the Communists. The other political forces adopted extraparliamentary forms of struggle, used meetings and street demonstrations to secure what they wanted. It all depends on what meaning you give to the concept of a "roundtable"—whether it is a place of cooperation or a means of stifling the others.

[Franceschini] Did Gorbachev explicitly discuss the plan with you or did he merely put forward the idea at the Federal Council meeting this week? In short, was it a casual remark or is it a specific political plan?

[Shakhnazarov] He spoke to me in person about it before the meeting. We discussed what he intended to say to the Federal Council, in other words, in substance, that he is ready for a legislative accord if the other side is ready. However, one day Yeltsin says he is in favor of a roundtable and the next, he fires point blank at Gorbachev, without understanding that this line leads nowhere, and may even lead straight to civil war.

[Franceschini] Gorbachev is no longer just being criticized by the radicals but also by the CPSU. The Communists from Kiev, Leningrad, and the Tyumen oil region are more or less openly demanding his resignation as party general secretary, and even from his other post as USSR president....

[Shakhnazarov] The pressures exist, it is useless to deny it. There is a dissident current, a conservative wing in party ranks. I do not think that all their criticisms should be condemned: Many people are protesting because they feel that the country is in imminent danger of collapse. But the method which those forces are using is wrong. There are now extremist forces among the radicals and among the Communists. Will they succeed in uniting to steer the country out of the crisis? Or will they continue to fight each other? Perestroyka's fate depends on which tendency prevails.

[Franceschini] Do you think that at the next CPSU Central Committee meeting at the end of April, the question of Gorbachev's resignation as general secretary will be raised?

[Shakhnazarov] The party as a whole is still loyal to him, as Ivashko himself recalled. But opposition to perestroyka's line exists. A fierce battle is developing inside the CPSU, the outcome of which will be decisive for the future of the party and the country. Either the CPSU decisively adopts the path of a human, democratic socialism, as Gorbachev wishes, or there will at the very

least be a danger of a split. And really anything could happen at the Central Committee plenum, a delegate might stand up and ask to discuss organizational changes in the party, starting with the post of general secretary.

[Franceschini] Does this mean that the CPSU program was not decided by the 28th CPSU Congress last summer?

[Shakhnazarov] The paradox is that in theory the congress approves of Gorbachev's line—the line of democratic socialism. But it was a decision developed under the general secretary's decisive influence. We can now see that not all the conservatives share this line in substance, but only in words.

[Franceschini] Gorbachev has told various foreign visitors that he feels misunderstood, unjustly accused of a swing "to the right." Do you think that the West understands the crisis which the USSR is experiencing?

[Shakhnazarov] Foreign countries are mistaken if they think they can gain advantage from our disarray, because if the Soviet Union collapses, it will be a disaster on a world scale. And some people in the West are starting to count on Yeltsin, to believe that his struggle will bring democracy and progress. That is not the case, it is Gorbachev who is leading the USSR toward a market economy, toward democracy, but he wants to do so while keeping the situation under control, whereas the opposition may wish to pursue similar objectives, but with the Bolshevik methods of 1917. The 28 March protest demonstration, held despite the government's ban, was a typical Bolshevik action, full of populism, rhetoric, and hypocrisy. The radicals wanted to hold a meeting of 1 million people under the Kremlin walls, but anything could have happened, the demonstrators could have invaded the government building. The government therefore stopped them, by deploying unarmed troops, and there were no incidents. It is dishonest to say that that was a threat to democracy.

[Franceschini] There is not just a difference of method between Yeltsin and Gorbachev but of ideology too. The former [as published] talks of reforming and renewing socialism, the latter [as published] of overthrowing it and introducing into the USSR a capitalist democracy, as in the West.

[Shakhnazarov] Yeltsin is not looking to the West, but to last century, to the past. In fact, social democracy exists in the West too: It means a market economy but with strong protection for the workers, strong social protection. The radicals level accusations at us because Gorbachev is talking of maintaining a basic socialist choice—what is wrong with that? It should be pointed out that millions of people in our country do not want to discard that word "socialism." And why should it be discarded? In France and Spain, the socialists are in government, in Italy they form part of the government, why can people not say they are socialist in the USSR too? Of course, socialism in the form in which it existed before is unacceptable, that has been widely recognized; but it is fair to point out that it also brought good things—day nurseries, medical assistance, and free education.... The trouble is that the achievements were accompanied by totalitarianism. But this does not mean that a democratic, human socialism should be destroyed.

IZVESTIYA on Shakhnazarov News Conference

PM1204123991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Apr 91 Union Edition p 2

[G. Charodeyev report: "Why the President Was Not at the Russian Congress"]

[Text] Soviet and foreign journalists had a meeting at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center with G. Shakhnazarov, aide to the USSR president.

He spoke about the results of the Federation Council session where, according to him, not only was "a diagnosis made of the situation in the country but prescriptions for treating its illness were also proposed." G. Shakhnazarov pointed out: A laconic assessment of the present situation was made at the Council, an anticrisis program was set forth, and the need for joint action in the interests of implementing it was emphasized.

A correspondent for the RUSSIAN NEWS AGENCY asked: What is the USSR president's attitude to the idea of a "roundtable," which is upheld by the country's democratic forces today?

"I would like to remind you," the president's aide said, "that M. Gorbachev advanced the ideas of a coalition, concord, and joint action by various political forces back at the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies. He has emphasized it repeatedly in his speeches. The president has also substantiated theoretically the nature of the centrist political trend in which he includes himself. In his opinion, it can undoubtedly exist only thanks to a coalition and an agreement with various political forces. And M. Gorbachev once again emphasized at the Federation Council that he is ready for actions of this kind."

A question from a WASHINGTON POST journalist: M. Gorbachev, as is known, has not won victories in any broad elections. Calls for his resignation are issuing today from both the left and the right. Where does his political support come from?

"In actual fact," G. Shakhnazarov emphasized, "M. Gorbachev is being attacked from both the right and the left. I believe that this is normal and attests that he is really pursuing a centrist democratic policy. If he were being attacked only from the right or from the left, this would mean that he is shifting to one of the two sides. The president sees it as his task to rally all of society's healthy forces around himself. It is now a time when he is being sharply criticized. I believe that this is the fate of all who are in power and who implement reforms."

A correspondent for the NOVOSTI news agency inquired: Why did M. Gorbachev find the time to attend

the All-Army Party Conference but did not find the time to come to the Congress of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic People's Deputies, where he was undoubtedly awaited?

"The president had the finished text of a speech at the Russian Congress. It is known that he tried several times to go there. After giving the matter some thought, M. Gorbachev evidently decided that it was not worth doing so, as it would have looked like some pressure on the Congress on the part of the center. Therefore he decided to refrain from going. As regards the All-Army Conference, the Army in our country is still a very important institution, and it must be helped and kept under control. Therefore it is natural for the head of state to wish to meet with servicemen and to answer the questions which arise among them..."

Going on to answer numerous journalists' questions, the USSR presidential aide denied rumors of M. Gorbachev's possible removal from the post of general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee at the upcoming party Central Committee plenum. "This is the first time I have heard of this," he said. At the same time the president's aide emphasized that "it cannot be ruled out that questions of a report by the general secretary will be raised at the plenum, but there are no specific data with regard to this."

New Hopes for Left-Centrist Bloc Hailed

PM1504154091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Apr 91 Union Edition p 1

["Political Diary" article by Pavel Gutiontov: "I Have Found New Hope..."]

[Text] "Things will go far better when we put an end to hope once and for all," Albert Camus once warned. I am afraid that in our country things are not going to go "far better" in the very near future, although, to all appearances, we are making amazing efforts to do away with hope, and with increasing success.

All the same...

People are now trying to convince us, from all sides, that perestroyka is over. Both those who are convinced that it should never have been started, and those who, until the last moment, were ardent enthusiasts for it, who sincerely "sang its praises" and acted as its devoted "foremen." And as a result some people are panicking; others are sinking into a poorly controlled rage; a third group is gleeful; a fourth wants to call to account the initiators of perestroyka, who, they think, were acting on the instructions of foreign centers; a fourth [repeated as published] group has, as Shevardnadze put it, "scattered and run for cover"; a fifth has "emerged from the trenches," and, it must be admitted, we have yet again taken fright on seeing their true face.

And everyone unites in saying: "No support for Gorbachev!"

It is to our great regret (mine, at any rate) that in recent months our president has done too much to dissociate himself not only from the "ultras" and the "extremists." Whether he intended it or not, the pendulum of public life has swung sharply to the right (I will not discuss what that means: All of us, except for a few social scientists, are well able to distinguish "right" from "left"), and people were unable to attribute this to anything other than a change in his course. And this was confirmed not only by the curses falling on the president from the "left," but also by the panegyrics from a direction from which, for a long time, Mikhail Sergeyevich had heard nothing but abuse.

What could today be called Gorbachev's "new course" prompts many questions, but I regard as profoundly incorrect and socially dangerous the offensive labels that were hastily pinned on him by the most resolute democrats (to the unconcealed joy, let me add in parentheses, of their opponents). Only incurable romantics and political dilettantes could say that "the president is a spent force" and should go. No, you certainly cannot change horses in midstream. Where will we reach land, without Gorbachev? Will we reach land at all?

I was (and am) one of those who were initially extremely skeptical about the prospects, and later the results, of the Russian Congress, which was imposed on the republic, as you know, in order to "oust Yeltsin," but which in the event—as happens, incidentally, with each successive anti-Yeltsin campaign (why is it that those who start these campaigns seem incapable of grasping this fact?)—gave the Russian Supreme Soviet chairman additional powers and popularity among the people. I am afraid that Yeltsin will have neither the popularity nor the powers to fulfill the entirely reasonable program he proposes for emerging from the crisis (since Yeltsin will have to emerge from the crisis on his own, against the background of an intensifying confrontation with the center). That is to say, to return to the subject of hope, the Russian Congress augmented our hopes, of course, but things may very well not go "far better." This will make the people's disappointment all the worse, and we can see what comes of that in Vorkuta, in the Kuzbass, and even in Minsk, which until recently was so quiet.

It is hard to believe in the success of the anticrisis measures proposed by the Cabinet of Ministers. Unfortunately, unpopular measures (NO anticrisis measures can fail to be unpopular under our conditions, and people must realize that) can only be implemented by a very popular government. But our Cabinet, in an extremely short time, has done everything possible to deprive itself of all public support. People simply do not trust our ministers today—the figures they cite, their calculations, their promises and explanations. Particular incredulity is prompted by the lamentations about the "difficult legacy," and equally by the intention, at some unspecified future time, to "assume full responsibility" for the fulfillment of their own program, an intention declared by people who have not yet answered for the failure of all their previous programs.

In short, whichever way you turn, there is no escape.

All the same...

It seems that there is a glimmer of a possibility of a difficult and circumspect move away from an unthinking, senseless political confrontation which is injurious to the people and to a country on the brink of disaster, a confrontation which has come to be symbolized by the situation around the 28 March Moscow rallies. The idea of a "roundtable" has emerged, and this idea has evoked marked support which no one can discount. It is therefore all the more important that the "democrats" who are inviting people to the "roundtable" have stated, apparently for the first time recently, that they are preparing chairs around this table for Communists too. That is to say, profound ideas—to the effect that to build paradise in isolation in one-sixth of the globe it is necessary to cast out of the political process the most powerful political force—have given way to a more realistic view of the processes taking place in the country. It is another matter that among the Communists there are people (and are there no democrats like that?) with whom it is really impossible to conduct dialogue. But they are not the center of the universe, as the saying goes.

In this sense I am inclined to regard as one of the most important recent events the formation at the Russian Congress of the new and highly influential faction, "Communists for Democracy," taking the form of a resolute opposition to the Polozkov line. It is noteworthy that it includes some very reputable people—general directors of associations, major scientists, leaders of agro-industrial firms. And the group's leader is not some fat cat of a Moscow intellectual out of touch with the people's needs, some slanderer and critic, but Hero of the Soviet Union Colonel Rutskoy, member of the Russian Communist Party Central Committee, a man who only recently seemed beyond all suspicion of democratic sympathies (it must be said that his metamorphosis caused shock in the camp that Rutskoy left: KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, through the lips of a reader, accused the colonel of treason, while the Kursk Veterans' Council stripped him of his title as an honored citizen of Kursk).

One way or another, the thing was done, and of course, the important point is not how many dozen deputies Rutskoy has "taken away" from the "Communists of Russia:" For the first time since the "Democratic Platform," a real force has emerged in the party that seeks to prevent it from drifting faster and faster toward the right, which entails the danger of not only its ignominious departure from the historical stage, but disaster for the whole country.

One would like to believe that there are after all more sensible people in a 16-million-strong party than foolish ones, and that they will eventually make their leaders (among whom are many people who understand very well the senselessness and destructiveness of the intensifying confrontation) sit down at the conference table.

But it is also important WHO sits at that table opposite them. It has become commonplace to point out how disunited the democrats are, how incapable they are of working out any platform that is in the least acceptable, if only to themselves. Two dozen parties, 300 factions... "Just you agree among yourselves first, and until then, don't stir up the people"—this view is, unfortunately, justified in many respects, and all the attempts of the democratic opposition to unite at long last have yet to achieve success. True, the left has a very high intellectual and moral potential, but there are too many chiefs and not enough Indians...

And so, among the encouraging signs of a change for the better, I will also cite the fact that the democrats are apparently beginning to pool their efforts around common and—most important—realistic goals. Another such sign, in my view, is the rejection of confrontation with the president and the dropping of the slogan calling for his immediate resignation.

And finally, the president. I may be mistaken, but it seems to me that he too is sending the democrats signals. Let me mention, for instance, the cadre changes in his immediate entourage—Bakatin's appointment to a key post on the Security Council, the return of Yakovlev (the president's senior adviser), the invitation to Karasev to join the aides (the first Interregional Group deputy in Gorbachev's apparatus)... And it is no accident that these reshuffles prompted an unequivocal reaction from the right: "Soyuz" all but demanded the convening of an extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies to call Gorbachev to "account." And it is interesting that the "resignation" slogan from the extreme left was speedily taken up by the "hawks" on the right...

I realize how difficult it is for Gorbachev now, how they are putting pressure on him and leaning on him. And moreover, the days of his idealization by the whole people have gone... But it seems that for the first time since the summer of 1990, when the opportunity was recklessly missed, the outlines of a left-centrist bloc are taking shape as a reality—a true center, which the president has spoken of repeatedly. Or a coalition, as his opponents on the left say.

Appeal for 'Communists for Democracy' Group

PM1504113991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Apr 91 Union Edition p 3

[Open letter from O. Latsis and others: "Coming Out of the Trenches; What For? An Invitation to Meditate and Act"]

[Text] Some people "come out of the trenches" to launch a bayonet charge, others do so to drive their bayonets into the ground—and thus ensure the possibility of civic peace and democratic development.

The more than 100 Communists who created the "Communists for Democracy" deputies' group in the Russian legislature have not simply founded yet another legislative faction. They have taken a step which has the potential to alter the entire picture of political life in the republic, create a new disposition of forces, ensure the firm consolidation of all democratic forces, win their decisive advantage over the forces of confrontation and reaction, and elaborate—in conjunction with their allies—a general democratic program of transformations reflecting the will of the overwhelming majority of Russians.

But for this step to have such far-reaching consequences in reality, we believe it must be complemented also by swift, vigorous actions by Communists beyond the walls of the supreme organ of Russian power—Communist deputies on soviets at every level, as well as all democratically oriented Communist voters.

It is to this end that we would like to propose the following to our fellow Communists.

First. To create "Communists for Democracy" deputies' groups along the lines of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet in soviets at every level. To convene a republic-wide meeting of representatives from this bloc in April-May of this year to synchronize "political watches" and prepare for the first ever elections for the post of Russian president.

Second. To set up groups (or clubs) in workplaces and places of residence to support deputies from the "Communists for Democracy" bloc (including making use of existing democratic party structures). These groups may become active assistants in all the activities of deputies forming part of this bloc, and of participants in the various "roundtables" where, in an atmosphere of constructive and amicable dialogue, different views on ways and means of overcoming the current catastrophic situation would be aired and the path toward achieving political compromise would be defined, taking due account of the interests of different social strata and the intentions of political parties. "Communists for Democracy" clubs could become centers for the Communists' on-going communication with noncommunists and nonparty voters, and also organizational cells linked on a republic scale to prepare and conduct electoral campaigns.

Once again: Let us do away with bellicose speech and practice, with totally unfounded historical self-importance, and with vain desires to read pompous lectures to other political forces. And, not just in words but in everything we do, let us prove to the people our readiness to participate, together with all democratic forces, in our society's highly complex march from totalitarianism to democracy.

[Signed] O. Latsis and B. Guseletov, members of the CPSU Central Committee; V. Lipitskiy, member of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee; V. Prokhoror, Moscow City Soviet deputy and member of the CPSU; T. Vasilyeva, deputy of Leningrad Oktyabrskiy Rayon Soviet and secretary of Oktyabrskiy Rayon Party Committee; G. Vodolazov, B. Kapustin, and I. Pantin, members of the CPSU.

Constitutional Democrats Meet in Moscow

LD1304011191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2110 GMT 12 Apr 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] It was not Communists but Constitutional Democrats [Kadets] who met in Moscow today. The perestroykaera Kadets are not numerous at the moment. But, they are full of optimism, hoping that a bloc of center-right parties, in which the Kadets will occupy an important place, will soon be formed. The Constitutional Democrats advocate neo-conservatism oriented toward the individual, total renunciation of collectivism, and rejection of revolutionary reform. Their hobby horse is consistent reform based on the Constitution. The Cadets consider themselves to be the legal heirs of the once influential Russian party. They often cite Vernadskiy, Milyukov, Struve and Berdyayev as their inspiration.

[Begin recording] [M. Astafyev, chairman of the Central Committee of the Constitutional Democratic Party] Our constructive ideas, the proposals we are making to society, are different from those of the Social Democrats and those of the Republican Party, set up by people who used to follow the CPSU platform, in the sense that, during the coming upheaval, so to speak, we propose that a distinction be made between the government and the state. We oppose the present government, but this does not mean that the present state has to be pulled down.

[D. Rogozin, deputy chairman of the Central Committee of the Constitutional Democratic Party] One of the organizers of today's conference is the Struve Foundation. This is a new organization. One of our aims is to explain the historical [word indistinct] and the general humanitarian significance of conservatism. [end recording]

Yakovlev on Situation in Soviet Union

AU1204125791 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 9 Apr 91 p 7

[Interview with Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev, "chairman of Mikhail Gorbachev's council of advisers," by LIDOVE NOVINY correspondent Jaromir Stetina; place and date not given: "Potemkin's Facade Fell Apart"—"The first interview granted by Yakovlev since his return to public life"]

[Text] [Stetina] The once so-called monolithic society has been afflicted by a crisis that has set in motion centrifugal forces that are agitating currents of thought as well as social forces. How would you characterize this crisis and the main ideological currents?

[Yakovlev] It is not a monolith that has fallen apart but the Potemkin simulation of one. The utopian illusions collapsed, the comforting self-deception, the soap bubbles of decades of naive mistakes and official hypocrisy have popped.

I consider two things to be of utmost importance: First, that under the shell of enforced monolithicity a living society appeared. Passions rage within it; at times, it is capable of surprising us by certain features it has, and by peculiarities of its form. Nevertheless, it is alive, and as a whole it longs for modernization rather than to be again submerged in the quagmire it has been accustomed to—this is the main thing. Second, the forces of reform and modernization have satisfied themselves that they are not alone, that they are not isolated. ...I would even go so far as to say that at this time the endeavors aimed at revival could be stopped in our society only by reprisals so extensive and cruel as to be comparable with those initiated by Stalin. And something like that is not very likely. Of course, the modernization will not progress uniformly—it will have its surges and setbacks, difficulties and failures. It is unavoidable. Yet, it will continue.

If we are to characterize the entire crisis we are experiencing, I believe that its basis is the collapse across the whole spectrum of social life of the social system we inherited from Stalinism, the conditions, the typical features of which are the explosion of anti- democratism and anti-freedom. ...This system is still putting up resistance, retaliating, but in many ways it is collapsing, and becoming a thing of the past. In its stead, a new system is coming, one based on democracy, on spiritual, political, and economic freedom of the individual, the collective, and the people. I am convinced that this process cannot be stopped, that it is irreversible, that the transition to a new life is simply is unavoidable. ...For rather obvious reasons, feelings of a certain disillusionment temporarily dominate, and of affront, even anger. It is expressed in such terms as—what have we built, what happened to our goals, have we lived for nothing? Moreover, many people underrate these sentiments, foment them, and rub salt in the wounds. Hence such a wide variety of proposals to return to the past. For some, there is the psychological comfort of Brezhnevism, for others, Stalin remains the center for orientation, still others would like to go back to February 1917, and there are some who would like to go back even further into the past.

The origin of these feelings is obvious psychologically, and even politically. However, the journeys back to the past are not happening. ...Personally, I am absolutely convinced that a crisis always a stimulus to activity, a good sign that changes are unavoidable and possible.

After all, the saying is that the eyes are frightened but the hands go on working. This is the best recipe for overcoming any crisis, although I certainly would not denigrate the scope and dimensions of the current crisis.

[Stetina] The Marxist doctrine has been tossed and turned in a diabolical turmoil. We believe that there is nothing left of it....

[Yakovlev] We should differentiate between Marxism as a science and Marxism as a religion. I believe that all that is viable is gradually being extracted from Marxism, while all that has been incorporated but is alien, even hostile to it, is being removed.... The fact that not all hypotheses, assumptions, and ideas of Marxism have stood the test of time is a necessary feature of every science.

Marxism as a dogma is another matter. Three years ago I spoke in Prague about Stalin having been responsible for a profound and far-reaching revision of Marxism. Time only reinforced my conviction. Something like a new religion was created, full of dogmas and scholastic both internally and externally, inseparably connected with the Stalinist system, and unable to exist without persecution of those who think differently or without its rituals and services. It would have been great if everybody understood from the very beginning that we were creating a new Church. However, this brainchild was presented as a science, and that of something that had so far not existed in nature—a new society and unprecedented social relations. As a matter of fact, it was presented as a science that had discovered everything beforehand, guessed everything, and provided all the answers. I believe that no one in history has ever claimed anything like that. Even the Divine Providence leaves something to the choice and will of the individual. Precisely this new religion is now experiencing a deep crisis.

At the same time, I believe that ideology and religion have a lot in common in their psychological and social roots and functions. Neither man nor society can live without faith, simply because at every moment in history there are some limits of knowledge and experience. These limits may be wide-ranging but they will always be there. Similarly there are, and there always will be some moral principles, some foundations of social life that are considered to be a necessity, an axiom, something given. Moreover, there is and always will be an effective field of intuition, the gift of prophecy, and enlightenment. All these phenomena are psychological and social mechanisms unable to function without faith. After all, every science also contains certain elements of "professional" faith.

[Stetina] What should be the principles of a Union agreement that would be a viable basis for building relations among the numerous peoples and nationalities living in the present territory of the Soviet Union? Why is its preparation constantly delayed?

[Yakovlev] First of all, I would like to differentiate between the principles of the agreement itself and the principles of the road toward it. They intersect and interpenetrate, yet they are different.

The principles of the agreement itself are sufficiently clear: Voluntariness of the Union; sovereignty and equality of the component republics; reasonable respect for the differences and idiosyncrasies in each of them; unity of human rights and their guarantees in the entire territory of the country; no dictate from the center, and clear division of powers between the center and the republics, as well as between the republics and the territorial bodies; uniform economic region and economic independence of the producers; concord of internal standards, on which the union is to be based, with the international and particularly all-European standards with respect to the processes taking place here.

I repeat that all this is sufficiently clear, and I do not believe that it would cause any controversies. This matter-of-factness and simplicity, however, is only illusory because the internal content of the Union must be totally changed, while the "outer shape" is preserved....

This also is the basis of the complexity of the way to such a union. It is difficult because of its unusual design as well as the content of the task. The struggle for a new union intertwines with the struggle for restructuring and revival. The issue no longer is whether we are "for" or "against" it but rather for what kind of restructuring and what kind of union. All this takes on the form of conflicts between nationalities. One must add the ambitions and oversights, conceitedness and egotism, and also the awakened nationalist—not national!—currents. And also the unavoidable retribution, for example, in the form of a concentration of problems, for refusing for years and even decades to admit that there have been difficulties, conflicts, and contradictions.

[Stetina] To what do you, yourself, consider important enough to pay special attention? In other words, what do you think about most at this time, what affects your activities.?

[Yakovlev] Currently, I am practically permanently concerned with one problem—restructuring and democracy. Therein lies something singular, even unexpected.

On the one hand, the basic issue and the priority task of the restructuring as a revolution is the need to introduce democracy and freedom to our society, and do it democratically and nonviolently. That really is the main thing. It means to eliminate absolutely the heritage of Stalinism. It means providing dependable and effective guarantees against its revival. Basically, it is the creation of a new lifestyle—a bearable, humane, and free one in all spheres of human activity. It could seem that there is no reason for anybody to object to this.

In fact, however, there have been plenty of objections. I am not going to speak about the most obvious one—that the restructuring does not suit everybody, that it harms the interests of some, and therefore it encounters resistence that is getting stronger as the revival progresses.

The experience of the past six years demonstrates that those philosophers and artists were right who have appealed for an internal self-improvement of man. I am neither an idealist nor a dreamer, but I understand that even in a civilized, cultured, and educated society or social strata, a hundred steps backward is easier than a single step forward, that for self-improvement one needs the singular, very demanding internal courage of the individual, one needs concentration, will, and fortitude. I realize that one cannot ask for self-improvement without a radical improvement in social conditions. Such an improvement itself, precisely as a result of its radicalness, necessarily clashes against the quality of the internal spiritual world and and the psychological features of man.

All that is true. Nevertheless, no reconstruction of social structures in itself can improve the society, make it more humane, and moral, if the individual is not encouraged to self-improvement. There are many examples from the practice of restructuring. Why should one in a conflict, even a sharp one, reach for a gun? Why is it possible, or acceptable, to do so? And what preventive means are eventually most effective—tanks, army, police, and courts, or the inner morality of the individual?

[Stetina] According to you, what are the possible ways of dealing with the Baltic crisis?

[Yakovlev] I am convinced that this crisis is one that could have been avoided. It was artificially instigated; it was caused by ambitions, improvidence, and by insisting on a confrontation for the sake of confrontation. I believe, however, that there is also an element of Gaponianism (orthodox priest Gabon was a mysterious figure of the Russian revolution in 1905—translator's note). In any event, the irrationality of many participants gives rise to concern.

One speaks of efforts aimed at autonomy and independence. Very few people doubt the right to independence but how can one realize it, particularly when one considers the structure of the population, the interpenetration of human fates, and the bonds with the entire country, since we have lived together not for years but for decades?

Basically, there are three ways: First, to make an attempt to create new relations in the framework of a new federation without seceding from the USSR. From the social point of view, it is a way that is the least painful at this time.

Another possibility is to secede from the USSR but in an organized manner, orderly, according to the law. That would mean a republic-wide referendum first, and if the participants decide to secede—to do it in accordance with all appropriate economic, social, and other agreements. Simply, make it a civilized "divorce."

There is yet a third way—gradual buildup of confrontation. This road is accessible and in many aspects even easy. I would say that today it is probably the path of least resistance and greatest publicity. However, it does not lead and cannot lead to any constructive results. This

way has been destroyed by violence. Moreover, even if an explosion of violence actually occurred, it is a way that is socially, economically, and morally most costly, and promises the least results for all.

Frankly, I myself consider the crisis of the Baltic region (even though each of the republics has its own specific features) to be a crisis brought about by the forces of conservatism and reaction to help them contront the restructuring and compromise the domestic and foreign policies associated with it. The political impatience, violation of laws, and extremism on both wings mutually support and urge one another and block any reasonable solution. My own ideas and hopes are tied to the expectation that the forces of reason and responsibility will eventually prevail and decide. The people can and must speak for themselves—that is democracy.

Komsomol Central Committee Bureau Session Held

PM1504104191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Apr 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In Komsomol Central Committee Bureau"]

[Text] The recent session examined the question of the situation which has taken shape in the school and vocational and technical college Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] organizations. The Komsomol Central Committee and many Komsomol committees have made efforts to elaborate programs aimed at uniting students and expanding their interests and developing their abilities. But attention was drawn to the fact that the Komsomol's work with the student youth often comes down to declarations. In some regions young people leave the Komsomol and the Komsomol does not even try to attract them to its side. As a result in the past three years alone the numerical strength of students who are Komsomol members has halved. Regarding work with the student youth as a priority avenue of the Komsomol's activity, the Bureau recommended that these questions be discussed during the report and election meetings and zonal seminar-conferences of Komsomol workers scheduled for April-May this year.

There was a discussion of the draft "Treaty on the Union of Sovereign Republics." It was noted that the creation and conservation of a united renewed federation of equal sovereign states is of undoubted importance for the fate of young people. It is expedient also for USSR people's deputies from the Komsomol and the Komsomol member-deputies of local soviets consistently to steer a line toward the consolidation of various forces and movements and to seek sensible compromises in the work to discuss and conclude the "Treaty on the Union of Sovereign Republics."

The Komsomol Central Committee Bureau resolution "on the 121st anniversary of the birth of V.I. Lenin" was adopted, as was a statement, which will be published.

The decision of the third Komsomol Central Committee Plenum on the creation of a state and public social service for young people generated considerable interest and met with support in the state organs of various levels and in a number of public organizations. The basic approaches elaborated by the plenum toward the creation of such a service and the mechanisms for its implementation are being actively used in practical activity.

The Komsomol Central Committee Bureau instructed a Komsomol Central Committee working group in conjunction with the USSR Ministry of Labor and Social Questions and the Youth Institute to embark on the elaboration of a model, structure, and standard documents for the service.

A model plan was adopted for holding informational seminar-conferences with several categories of cadres and the Komsomol aktiv on the basis of the Youth Institute.

In the first half of 1991 alone representatives of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Komsomol city and rayon committees in charge of questions of youth policy, leaders of youth law enforcement formations and political clubs, chairmen of control organs of the subjects of the federation and of the republican, kray, and oblast Komsomol committees will meet at these seminars. There will also be courses for newly elected workers of the elected organs of the subjects of the federation and of republican, kray, and oblast Komsomol committees on management, general political, and problem-targeted topics.

Other questions were also examined.

TASS Reviews Central Press for 16 Apr

LD1604063891 Moscow TASS in English 0630 GMT 16 Apr 91

["Soviet Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow April 16 TASS—Today's newspapers highlight President Mikhail Gorbachev's official visit to Japan and his stopover in Khabarovsk on his way to Tokyo.

Newspapers report about Gorbachev's stay in Khabarovsk, his meetings with people and officials. They carry extracts from his speech at a meeting with regional leaders and managers, in which he focussed on the need to sign the new union treaty and avert an economic collapse.

Gorbachev confirmed the Soviet leadership's resolve to pursue market reforms.

In the run up to Gorbachev's visit to Japan, several stories comment on Soviet-Japanese relations.

Although the territorial dispute cannot be solved with a single strike even at the highest level "it is important to

find a way out of the deadend, find a correct direction and impart a powerful impulse to bilateral ties", Pravda writes.

"The first visit by a Soviet leader to Japan provides a historical chance that should not be missed," PRAVDA writes.

TRUD carries an interview with Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu in the run up to Gorbachev's visit to Japan.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA publishes an interview with Japan's Liberal Democratic Party Secretary-General Keizo Obuchi, who expressed hope that Gorbachev's visit "will open a new era in relations between the Soviet Union and Japan". The newspaper also carries an article about the Kurile Islands, saying they should not be returned to Japan.

Japanese ambassador to the Soviet Union Sumio Edamura told KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA he was optimistic about the possibility to improve Japanese-Soviet relations. The resolution of the "territorial issue" is a priority in the Asia-Pacific region, he said.

The territorial dispute should be resolved but now is just not the right time to do this, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA writes.

SELSKAYA ZHIZN publishes an exclusive interview with Mikhail Gorbachev, in which he speaks about agricultural development and land reforms.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA covers a plenum of the Leningrad regional Communist Party committee and publishes its address to the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

Participants in the meeting blasted party leadership and said that the Central Committee should meet in May to adopt an anti-crisis programme and discuss convening an emergency party congress.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA carries remarks by Academician Nikolay Petrakov on price reforms pursued by the Pavlov cabinet.

April 2 price hikes hurt people's vital interests, Petrakov said. Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov's government won't last long, he said.

Plant after plant in Sverdlovsk region side with striking miners, adopting their political demands, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA writes. On April 18, workers plan to hold a general warning strike, it says.

PRAVDA writes about easing tensions in South Ossetia.

TRUD writes about the threat of a small-pox break-out in the lower stretches of the Kolyma River if spring floods destroy an old cemetery where people who died of small-pox were buried early last century.

Economic

Severouralsk, Kuzbass, Gubkin Situation Updated

LD1604111691 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1000 GMT 16 Apr 91

[Text] The miners' strike is continuing. This is what has been reported today by TASS correspondents. The losses arising from two weeks of strikes by the miners of the Severoualsk bauxite mine come to 9 million rubles [R]. It is based on political demands. The Kuzbass miners' debts to the metallurgical industry are rising rapidly: for the first half of April they exceeded 1 million tonnes of coking coal. Even at the Kemerovo by-product coke works the threat of a shutdown in production has arisen because of a shortage of high-grade fuel. It is true, representatives of the oblast council of strike committees have promised to look at the works' problems at the next session of the council. The strike's echo has also affected construction workers building housing for the miners; metal supplies at house building combines have become erratic. However, the situation at the coal extraction enterprises is in effect not improving; 47 mines out of 76 continue to strike, and several open-cast collieries, vehicle depots, and construction organizations belonging to the Ministry of Coal Industry stand idle. The miners of the Gubkin mine in Belgorod Oblast again failed to go down to the pit-face this morning, continuing the strike announced the previous day. The miners embarked on this step two weeks after they sent their economic demands to the USSR and Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Governments, to which they received no reply. The strikers have appealed to all labor collectives in Gubkin for support, but as yet this appeal has found no such support, even at the KMA-Ruda combine. The leaders of the town soviet, while recognizing the majority of the miners' economic demands as just, are taking emergency measures to find a way out of the current situation.

Radio Reports 48 Mines on Strike in Kuzbass

LD1504125191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1200 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] The strike is continuing in Kuzbass. After a secret vote on whether to continue or to suspend the strike, the staff of Listvyanskiy open cast mine in Novokuznetsk started to extract fuel and to prepare new pit-faces. However, this good news is, as a TASS correspondent reports, the only one to come, so far, from the striking Kuzbass. On the whole, it is impossible to speak of a beginning of stabilization of the miners' work in the coal field. And primarily because more mines than ever currently are not working—48 of them. This constitutes almost 65 percent of the total number of mines. Baydayevskaya, Zyryanovskaya, and Novokuznetskaya mines have joined those already idle. The miners of the coal field already owe the consumers more than 2.5 million tonnes of coal for April. And this means that ever

more problems are going to arise for the metal workers of Siberia. This may lead to a complete stoppage of the high-temperature shops of plants in the Urals.

New Commodity Exchange To Open

LD1504190591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] And now up-to-the-minute news from the areas of the Kuzbass. Aleksandr Sysoyev has just reported the following to us:

By this morning 95 enterprises were taking part in the strike in the Kuzbass. Forty-nine mines are at a standstill. In Novokuznetsk two more mines, Baydayevskaya and Novokuznetskaya, joined the strike. Three opencast coalmines and four service stations are at a complete standstill.

At Kemerovo Oblast executive committee, a meeting took place of the shareholders of the recently approved Kuzbass International Commodity and Raw Materials Exchange. It is made up of 51 organizations which are shareholders, including one of the country's largest exchanges, the Russian commodity and raw materials exchange. This meeting discussed the question of opening brokers' offices in the Kuzbass. (Fedor Neosipov) was elected president of the joint-stock company. The Kuzbass International Commodity and Raw Materials Exchange can start its first operation in three to four months.

Strike Begins at Buryatia Tungsten Combine

LD1504211191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1350 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] A miners' strike has begun in Bukryatia. The production conveyer has ground to a halt at the Kholtoson pit of Dzhidinskiy tungsten and molybdenum combine. The decision on the strike was taken by the strike committee as long as a week ago. But the combine's management, within the framework of its capabilities, undertook a number of specific measures to meet the miners' demands. They were allocated additional compensation for food in the workers' canteen and for public transport, and rates for tunnelling and recovering ore were increased. However, these measures were deemed by the miners to be half-hearted. Moreover, the strikers insisted on the fulfillment of their political demand: the resignation of the union government.

Donetsk Strikers' Demands Reported

LD1504204991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Report by correspondent G. Kondaurov in Donetsk; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Kondaurov] Yesterday, the Donetsk strike committee passed a decision not to halt the strike that has been going on now for a month and a half, but to make it political. At the rally it was reported that at a number of enterprises in other sectors, workers have voiced support for the miners in one form or another, or have held a one-hour warning strike. Now, even the workers of operating mines have passed a decision supporting the political demands.

All in all, over the past few days, the miners' strike has spread. In the Ukraine at present, according to data of the republic's state committee for coal, 57 mines are striking, and if one takes into account enterprises that are partially operating or which are extracting but not despatching coal to consumers, then the number is one and a half times greater. The losses over the month and a half-long strike amount to 5 million tonnes of coal and 500 million rubles in the coal industry alone. And today, the demands of the striking miners sound quite different from those heard on 1 of March, when the strike began.

[N.N. Volynko, member of Donetsk strike committee] Some demands are political: The resignation of the president, the dissolution of the Congress of People's Deputies, the dissolution of the Supreme Soviet, the setting up of a council of a federation of free sovereign states.

[V.N. Osychnyy, a worker from the Yuzhnodonbasskaya mine] We know that in order for a person to live and work normally, the necessary wage is needed. With the price rises, this has been taken away from us and we have, in principle, become impoverished. So, while putting forward the demand for the indexation of pay levels, we are also demanding the kind of government that would implement this decision of ours, or rather, our demand for a normal standard of living. The governments that exist at present, both the union-level and certain republic governments, are in no state to implement an improvement in the standard of living, to ensure the people's normal well-being. So we are demanding their resignation.

[Volynko] The law on indexation should have been adopted back in January 1990; the draft was submitted in January 1990. But we are now being offered it in 1992. And yet prices are going up, and the people are getting poorer.

[Kondaurov] So you are not insisting only on pay increases for the miners?

[Volynko] No, we are for everyone. We are insisting for everyone. [end recording]

[Stefanov] The strikes and the demands which are made in them are, of course, all very serious, and yet, let us ponder, are strikes the most correct and most effective way of resolving our economic and social problems?

Miners Begin Strike in Belgorod Oblast

LD1504215191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1905 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] Today miners at the (Gubkin) pit in Belgorod Oblast announced a strike in the wake of miners strikes

in the Donbass, Kuzbass, Vorkuta, and other regions in the country. Their main demands are an increase in pay, the removal of the 5 percent sale tax and the 1 percent tax for the pension fund. Pit construction workers from the (Kma-shakht-stroy) administration joined the strikers and went out onto the town square.

As reported by our correspondent, at a meeting both the miners and the townsfolk criticized the policy of the Union government in the sphere of price increases. Speakers demanded the resignation of the country's president. At the meeting, which lasted about two hours, a resolution was adopted on an appeal to the Union government, and a strike committee was elected.

Mines Decide To Leave Union Jurisdiction

LD1504185891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] At the Severnaya mine in Kemerovo a labor collective conference took place at which the decision was made to remove the party committee and the Communist Youth League committee from the enterprise. The decision was also made to transfer the mine to Russian jurisdiction.

A similar conference took place at the 'Imenno Lenina' mine in Mezhurechensk where the decision was also made to leave union jurisdiction.

Miners Hoist RSFSR Flag

LD1504184691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Summary] At the Raspadskaya mine, one of the country's largest, the union flag was removed this morning and the flag of the Russian Federation was hoisted. This leased enterprise has passed into Russian Federation jurisdiction.

PRAVDA Views Ramifications of Coal Strike

PM1504114391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Apr 91 First Edition p 2

[Yu. Medvedev article: "A Week Has Passed"]

[Text] A week has passed since the meeting between representatives of miners' collectives and the country's leaders. The final documents of the Moscow talks are public knowledge. However, despite the fact that, with a few exceptions, all the points of the miners' economic demands were met, the situation in the mining sector is improving very slowly. The strikes are continuing.

There are several reasons, and they are of very different kinds. Above all, it must be said that not all miners are capable of rapidly coming to to grips with the details of USSR Cabinet of Ministers resolutions and instructions. If only because there are so many of them. Some points are of interest to some people. Other people will be indifferent to them. Moreover, the inertia of strike sentiment is still great. Remembering past promises from the ministry and the Union and republic governments, many still distrust promises from "above." That is why there has been such an impassioned discussion of the adopted documents in miners' collectives.

Of course, it is simply impossible to satisfy all the miners' economic demands at a stroke, however much all the participants in the talks might want to. Unfortunately, some people either cannot grasp this or deliberately refuse to grasp it. Under the slogan "Cough Up Now!" certain interested groups of people are trying to play the miners' card to suit their own political ambitions, which are far removed from any real concern for the miners' welfare.

For instance, it is now being said in the Kuzbass that the strikers' main aims are political. Some people view the meeting with President M.S. Gorbachev and Prime Minister V.S. Pavlov as virtually the beginning of their political victory. If so, they claim, we need to press on further and more vigorously.

It seems to me to be time to sort everything out. But the train of thought of the campaigners for justice is clear even now.

Meanwhile, the number of collectives which have called off the strike is increasing—although not as rapidly as required by the current economic situation. But the losses from the strikes have been great. Having started at the pit faces, they have snowballed into other sectors of our economy. This is having a bad impact on the country's entire economy and will continue to do so for some time to come.

Urals Mining, Metal Workers Threaten Strike

PM1504083991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Apr 91 Union Edition p 2

[Valeriy Mikushin report under the rubric "Direct Link": "Metallurgical Workers' Solidarity"]

[Text] Chelyabinsk—A regional conference of representatives of Greater Urals mining industry and metallurgical enterprises has been held in Chelyabinsk on the initiative of trade unions in the metallurgical sector.

While fully supporting the striking pitmen's economic demands, at the same time the conference pointed out that the majority of enterprises in the sector are on the verge of halting owing to a shortage of coking and power-generating coal. This threatens serious consequences for the country's economy.

Those assembled pointed out that the situation for Urals mining industry and metallurgical workers is in no way better than for pitmen—low wages and unfulfilled social programs. The conference adopted a package of demands to the government. If they have not been examined by 20 April, the sector's working people reserve freedom of action, even including a strike.

Cooperative Union Supports Miners' Strikes

LD1504192191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] The leadership of the USSR Union of Cooperatives has expressed full support for the strikers' political and economic demands.

As the Russian news agency reports, an agreement has been signed between the interregional coordinating council of workers' strike committees an the Independent Trade Union of the USSR and the Union of Cooperatives and other Non-State Enterprises. The agreement notes in particular that the cause of the collapses in the economy and in social policy lies in the present government's unwillingness to give up ideological dogma and its efforts to preserve monopoly power over the economy.

An end to the strike without its aims being achieved, the document stresses, will mean a defeat of all democratic forces. The possibility of an offensive by the reaction in the wake of this will adversely affect not only the striking collectives but also the enterprise sector of the economy and society as a whole.

The country's Union of Cooperatives and other Non-State Enterprises has taken the decision to start giving aid in stages to the families of the striking miners.

In the next few days the leadership of the Union of the Vneshekonomkooperstsiya Association will transfer 10 million rubles to the account of the Independent Union of USSR Miners.

Motor Workers Join Sverdlovsk Strikers

LD1604062891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1350 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] Today, the striking miners of Severouralsk in Sverdlovsk oblast were joined by workers of the town motor transportation shop and also by mine building managements No. 1 and No. 3. This is reported by the URALINFORM News Agency.

Agricultural

Gorbachev Praises Peasants, Promises Support

PM1504174591 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 16 Apr 91 p 1

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN interview with M.S. Gorbachev, USSR President and general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; date and place not specified: "Doing Everything We Can To Boost the Countryside. M.S. Gorbachev, USSR President and General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Answers SELSKAYA ZHIZN's Questions"]

[Text] [SELSKAYA ZHIZN] Mikhail Sergeyevich, letters from SELSKAYA ZHIZN's readers have prompted us to ask you to give our newspaper an interview. Many of these letters raise the following question: Does the leader of the state know about crop farmers' most pressing problems ahead of the spring sowing? Farms lack fuel, mineral fertilizers, and spare parts to complete equipment repairs. Industry is failing to fulfill its commitments to the countryside. The question arises: Have political passions not relegated to the back burner the question of meeting peasants' urgent needs? This at a time when the development of the agrarian sector has been deemed a priority in the entire renewal policy.

[Gorbachev] I know about and I share rural dwellers' alarm.

I would remind you that the USSR Supreme Soviet has adopted a special resolution "On the State of Affairs in Agriculture and Urgent Steps to Prepare for Field Work." A USSR presidential decree has been published "On Urgent Measures in Agriculture" and the USSR Cabinet of Ministers has adopted a number of decisions. These are all designed to provide the countryside with urgent aid.

Control has been established over the provision of fuel and seed for farms, and they will be supplied with at least as much mineral fertilizer as last year. Machine building enterprises in all sectors, including the defense complex, have been recruited to manufacture spare parts and the requisite equipment. All obstacles in the way of recruiting townspeople for agricultural work and so on have been removed.

I recently had a meeting with leaders of farms which have begun to work in the new way. Look, every single speaker represented a brand new economic structure. In one case, an association or a union of primary cooperatives, in another, the owner of a family farm or a peasant farm, and in a third, the representative of an industrially integrated livestock unit or people's enterprise.

But the most important thing is that they have all already secured considerable results. Their experience merits most close attention and support.

Of course, the ultimate question is that of establishing equivalent, optimum relations between the city and the countryside whereby it would be beneficial to produce all types of agricultural produce and acquire the requisite industrial commodities. We must resolve this problem as a matter of urgency.

I have to put in a good word about the rural workers. Despite all their adversities, the peasants are striving to do their job and provide produce. It is our statewide, nationwide task to do everything we can to help them.

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN] An equivocal attitude has now taken shape in society toward various forms of ownership in the countryside. Some people abuse kolkhozes and sovkhozes [collective and state farms] with might and main at meetings, rallies, and in the press and suggest disbanding the collective types of farm and

distributing their land. They try to show that only individual farmers will feed the country. Other people have gone to the other extreme, occupying conservative positions and effectively checking the development of new forms of economic management in the countryside. How can the peasant and local organs of power find their correct bearings here?

[Gorbachev] I can say that the state approach here is quite unequivocal: We are in favor of diverse forms of economic management and a mixed economy in the countryside. All forms of economic management have the right to exist.

But if we take a realistic look at things, from the strictly practical viewpoint, we are bound to recognize that the successful development of new forms of economic management—the lease, primary cooperatives, and autonomous peasant farms—depends in many respects on how closely they cooperate with kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Individual farms and leaseholders themselves say that it is hard for them to survive on their own. Real help in the form of equipment, transportation, and servicing and in selling produce is needed. In short, the new shoots need support.

In a word, we must not go to extremes here and hope that the individual farmer will be able to feed the entire country overnight, within a year or two, as some people claim. Of course, individual farmers must be helped, and those who are willing and able to work productively on the land must be supported.

We must not tolerate the practice whereby a person who wants to start up a private farm often meets with fierce resistance from local economic organs and shortsighted kolkhoz and sovkhoz leaders. They act on the principle of restraining and not letting go; they surround the procedure of land allocation with such obstacles that they sometimes eliminate any desire to work autonomously on the land. Instances of this kind must be given a principled assessment, and we must strive to ensure unconditional compliance with the relevant legal norms. Incidentally, SELSKAYA ZHIZN could also play an important role here.

As for today's kolkhozes and sovkhozes, I would like to stress once again that they need production relations to be radicalized. This applies both to strong farms and especially to unprofitable farms. Practice shows that associations of peasant farms prove themselves well in some areas, while the same is true of associations of cooperatives in other areas. Integration with industrial enterprises also produces impressive results. It is a good thing that the quest is continuing for the optimum forms in line with specific conditions.

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN] Mikhail Sergeyevich. What you said about the mixed economy is very important and is in accordance with the hopes of the peasants. Many state acts on the land have already been adopted, including a presidential decree. Three months have passed since it came into force. Why is land reform proceeding so slowly?

[Gorbachev] You have asked a very important question. This problem is worrying all of us. On the one hand a legal basis for reforming land relations has been created in the majority of republics. Work in carrying out land reform has recently become more active in Kazakhstan, in a number of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] oblasts, and in the Ukraine. Amid an acute shortage of land in Uzbekistan, 165,000 hectares of fertile land requiring irrigation were found and allocated last year to peasants on lifetime leases without destroying collective forms of farming. This year over 100,000 hectares of land are also being transferred here. Altogether in the whole country around 3 million hectares of land have already been allocated for the formation of a local soviet special land fund. This fund must be extended to at least 5 million hectares, and all the conditions must be created to satisfy as far as possible the people who want to work on the land and are capable of setting about the job.

At the same time land is being allocated slowly in a number of areas, in the face of great difficulties and resistance. I have given instructions to local organs of administration to speed up this work, so that from this spring people can receive land and grow crops on it.

A great deal has been done in the country in recent years to grant the inhabitants of cities plots of land for gardens and vegetable gardens, and there are now over 18.5 million of these. And this is a good and useful thing that must be actively continued. There are still many people who desire to acquire a plot with a vegetable garden and build a summer house where the family can relax. Even if people are receiving only 10-15 acres of land, this must not be done without authorization but by decisions of local soviets. The willful seizure of lands from kolkhozes and sovkhozes must be prevented.

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN] The supporters of "decollectivization," who are advocating the dissolution of kolkhozes, affirm that world experience of such a solution to the food problem does exist. In addition they refer to the agrarian reform in China which is connected with the dissolution of the communes and the transfer of land to private ownership. They have the highest production of grain there in the world today. In 1990, 379 million tonnes of grain was harvested there. What is your attitude to the possibility of using the Chinese experience in our country?

[Gorbachev] I will say right away that we are very interested in studying and assimilating advanced foreign experience. But it is one thing to assimilate new technology in production, and quite another to use experience in the functioning of a socioeconomic system. What is needed here is a well-considered attitude and consideration of many factors, traditions, and specific conditions. Simply copying certain positive aspects outside

the general context and without taking into consideration all the circumstances and mutual relations may not only not be useful, but may even discredit a profitable idea altogether.

In China, from the beginning of the reform, the economic and administrative functions of the communes were separated. Hundreds of thousands of committees of rural inhabitants were created. Each of them brought together on average 150 peasant homesteads. And land is leased to the peasant homesteads for 15 years or more. At the same time the peasants are bound to fulfill contract deliveries of certain produce to the state, to make deductions into the collective funds of the settlement or the village, and to pay an agricultural tax. The remainder of the produce remains at their own disposal. This produced a quick and significant effect in China's conditions. But what is interesting is that Chinese peasants have recently been looking increasingly frequently for new forms of cooperative ties which would make it possible to secure further growth in production.

In general, we can learn a great deal in many respects from the Chinese experience of land reform, notably in the sphere of state regulation of market relations.

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN] Today everyone is perturbed by the question of how to ensure real priority for the agrarian sector of the economy. This topic is constantly voiced in letters and appeals from peasants received at the editorial office. People are worried by the lack of equivalence in exchange between agriculture nad industry and by the serious violations of price parity.

Your decree on raising purchase prices was greeted with great satisfaction. But the joy was short-lived, because virtually immediately tractors, combines, construction materials, fertilizers, and mixed feed doubled or tripled in price. As a result the price deficit on kolkhozes and sovkhozes amounts to billions of rubles this year. Where is the logic: A loaf of bread, which embodies tremendous labor, costs 60 kopeks, yet a brick costs around a ruble, as a reader of ours writes. See what things have come to: In exchange for a powerful tractor they demand ten cows, on top of the prices. Or they ask that 20,000 rubles [R] be paid into the material incentives fund over and above the price.

When are elementary logic in price formation and true values going to prevail in the economy at long last? We speak of equivalent exchange, but the situation is one of crushing diktat by monopolists. There are already cases of entire rural rayons refusing to conclude contracts for the state order and tax in kind. That is a very dangerous symptom!

[Gorbachev] I touched on this important aspect of the matter at the very start of our conversation. The Cabinet of Ministers has been given a month to prepare proposals on this acute problem.

Agriculture must certainly be reimbursed for the additional increase over what was planned at the beginning of the year in the cost of industrial output, materials, and services. We must more vigorously seek and find effective levers for regulating relations between the countryside and the city. This is a most important condition for improving the whole country's food supplies.

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN] Talk of confrontation between city and countryside has become more and more common in the so-called "independent" press, and it is claimed that this is on the increase. What can you say about this?

[Gorbachev] I will begin with the confrontation—this is the basic issue. I would not say unequivocally that a confrontation between city and countryside has emerged. But the disturbing symptoms regarding this cannot be underestimated either. If the countryside loses faith in the city as a reliable partner, it too may ask fabulous prices for its products or else suspend delivery of them altogether.

What, are you telling me to form food detachments once again and to introduce food requisitioning? But we already know what this means. I am firmly convinced that a true peasant will never resort to strikes, for he knows the price of the land and the price of every day of work on it.

But at the same time I want to say once again: The peasant must be defended. Let him be sure that the government is elaborating mechanisms for ensuring equivalent exchange and for ensuring that kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and the emerging individual farms receive a reward appropriate to their costs.

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN] There are a lot of opinions about perestroyka now and they are most diverse. The sixth spring has begun, but people feel no greater hope of a better life. We are still merely talking about the market, but the peasantry—the least protected section of our society—have already felt the breath of the market economy. It is precisely in the countryside, where the social sphere is already in a neglected state, that medical centers, everyday services, stores, and libraries are now being closed. And do you know what the argument is? Apparently they are unprofitable. Is a bookkeeper's approach appropriate here...

[Gorbachev] The situation here is indeed disturbing. But practice demonstrates that, wherever soviet and economic organs pay paramount attention to the social development of the countryside, the situation is different. Such experience exists in the villages of Belorussia, Kazakhstan, Altay Kray, and Belgorod, Lipetsk, Orel, Omsk, and Saratov Oblasts.

Targeted programs for highway construction and the extension of gas supplies to population centers are beginning to yield positive results in the Non-Chernozem Zone of Russia—wherever, of course, the local authorities and both republic and central organs vigorously, persistently tackle matters.

But on the whole the peasants are entitled to present serious complaints to all levels of leadership regarding the lack of attention to their needs. Indeed, housing is constructed more slowly and in smaller volume in the countryside than it is in the cities, and the construction of schools, kindergartens, clubs, and cultural centers is decreasing. Just a few thousand settlements and villages have natural gas supplies. Yet main gas pipelines often run just near villages.

There is an acute shortage of medical institutions, and the organization of public education is lagging seriously behind. Per capita retail commodity turnover among the rural population is 2.3 times smaller. The situation with regard to everyday services is similarly unsatisfactory. It is impermissible to close cultural, trade, and everyday service facilities, even on the grounds that they are unprofitable.

I would like to support the initiative of those regions where special rural development funds are being created and where cities are redistributing construction capacities and the volumes of resource deliveries in favor of the countryside. Everyone must understand that, unless we help the countryside in the next two or three years, noble wishes to reform social production, develop individual farms, and build up production of food products will remain empty talk.

The USSR Cabinet of Ministers and the republic supreme soviets and governments have been instructed to seek out additional resources to build up the social base and to elaborate and implement a special program to resolve the whole complex of problems of the development of the rural way of life. Recently a presidential decree envisaged a reduction in taxes on the profits of industrial and construction enterprises carrying out work on highway construction in the countryside, the extension of gas supplies, and the provision of social amenities.

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN] Our readers know that you are a peasant by origin. You know the price of bread not merely from textbooks. The interruptions in bread supplies in trade have shown with new force what is the most important thing in the country. So perhaps in perestroyka too there should be a reorientation toward the most important thing—solving the food question? By tackling this task can we not resolve other problems too? What specifically must be done literally tomorrow?

[Gorbachev] As regards the priority of bread and food in general, there is no doubt about this. After all, if this problem were solved in the country, I am sure that the social tension that we are enduring today would not exist. I am sure that it would also have been possible to lessen ethnic strife. After all, people will let well alone. The food crisis has simply grabbed our tormented society by the throat. So the faster we remove the food question, the better things will go in our country.

Now for what we must do literally tomorrow, as you put it. First, help the peasants to carry out the sowing and complete the wintering; second, supply the countryside with resources for the peasantry and for social amenities; third, provide more goods for rural residents; fourth, resolutely advance the land reform and restructure economic relations in the countryside; fifth, create an extensive network of processing and food enterprises in the shortest possible time.

The food problem can be solved not by standing at microphones or on platforms, but only by practically addressing the countryside's vital needs. And that applies to everyone: The soviets at all levels, the trade unions, and all parties and social movements. And to economic organs, of course.

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN] Now, Mikhail Sergeyevich, a question to you as general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. There are hundreds of thousands of Communists working and party committees operating in the countryside. Many of them are capable of exerting a real influence on solving economic and social problems, but is is no longer their business, seemingly, as more and more people are saying. What role do you see our rural party organizations playing in conditions of growing economic, social, and political problems in the implementation of land reform?

[Gorbachev] It is true that with the abolition of Article Six of the USSR Constitution some of the party leaders have cut themselves off from vital day-to-day issues and retired into the party shell, so to speak. I think this is wrong. The situation has indeed changed, but can we really shirk all responsibility for the implementation of agrarian policy? Retreat into the undergrowth, wash our hands of it, pose as troubleshooters—this is very undignified. The rural Communists' main concern is to promote the implementation of the land reform and to contribute through typical party organization methods to the realization of the right of every person to cultivate the land if he can and wants to do so and to work successfully on it. I believe that rural party organizations can do much to support subsidiary plots and create and shape primary cooperatives and their associations. Of course, no one can avoid being concerned about social production—it has been and remains a matter of paramount importance.

Communists in a whole bunch of republics, oblasts, and rayons are working actively and fruitfully in soviets. This positive experience is very valuable and important now that the conditions and very content of the activity of soviets—from supreme to rural—are changing in many ways. People are rightly making bigger and bigger demands on soviets and are increasingly comparing the actual work results of individual deputies and drawing their own conclusions, judging them by their actions, not their words. This is a healthy, promising process.

I am sure that party organizations have great scope for action. Each of them must have its own concrete action program. And, of course, concrete results. Then communists' authority will grow stronger.

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN] Mikhail Sergeyevich, although you are enormously busy, do you get to look at SELSKAYA ZHIZN? A second question, by the way: What would you wish our readers?

[Gorbachev] I come from the countryside, you know, so I have a soft spot for your paper. As a rule, my working day begins with a look through the daily papers, including SELSKAYA ZHIZN. I can say with satisfaction that the paper is actively opposed to bureaucracy and the blinkered approach to the renewal of forms of management and favors a healthy mixed economy in the countryside. It is a very good thing too that SELSKAYA ZHIZN is now the paper for the social protection of the peasantry, for which there are very solid grounds. No doubt this explains the large circulation, the popularity of your newspaper among rural, and not only rural, readers.

It is important that a peasant paper should constantly reflect the opinions of ordinary people with their everyday problems and concerns. It is a good thing that the editorial collective avoids the group predilections, one-sidedness, and tendentiousness that many publications suffer from at the moment. I wish the editorial collective and all your contributors success.

In addressing your readers I want first of all to express to rural workers and to all those who have links with the countryside and with work on the land words of immense appreciation and gratitude for not succumbing to rally fever in our critical time, for helping to solve the vital problems of the whole of our people, of every family, of literally every one of our citizens, great and small, through their difficult day-to-day labor.

The peasantry and the countryside are a storehouse of popular wisdom and folk traditions. The roots of love for the native soil are found there. That is what makes it so important to do everything possible to ensure the complete rebirth of the countryside.

Government Prolongs Grain Purchase Period

LD1204194691 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 12 Apr 91

[Text] With the aim of bringing more of the 1990 grain harvest into state stocks, the USSR Council of Ministers has adopted a decision to prolong until 1 June 1991 the effectiveness of the procedures and conditions for the additional purchase of the 1990 grain harvest envisaged in the instruction of the USSR Council of Ministers dated 16 Febrary 1991. The procedures and conditions for the additional purchase of the 1990 grain harvest also apply to Union republics not encompassed by the aforementioned instruction.

Farms' Switch From Grain to Feed Crops Deplored

PM1504160191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Apr 91 Second Edition p 2

["Topic of the Day" article by Ye. Grigoryev: "The Earth Moves"]

[Text] The usual spring—an anxious, busy time for livestock raising workers. Keeping milk yields and weight gains up and "holding out" until the first green shoots appear. But this year these modest intentions are the limit of people's expectations. Hands are tied so tight by the meager feed base. All livestock unit indicators are taking a dive. Productivity is declining and stock deaths and losses are growing. Livestock raising workers are not very complimentary about those who were to blame for the failure to lay in feed in the fall.

The reproach is a reminder for the farmers. Substandard field products result in a beggarly return for livestock units and economic disaster. You cannot operate in such a way that the following winter and spring experience a bad hangover after wasted opportunities. Moreover, the usual efficiency is not enough. According to current Union Ministry of Agriculture and Food data, 77 million hectares of plowed fields are to be sown with forage crops. This is 2.7 million hectares more than last year. There is a certain logic in this. If a farm sows, say, grain crops, it will be hit by the full weight of state orders and taxation. Hay and silage escape that fate. So the crop rotation structure is being changed in favor of the livestock units. Is it justified? I believe it is not only a sin to reduce the grain area, but it is shortsighted in economic terms. After all, grain is king and it provides hard currency too. Nonetheless, the grain area is reduced this year.

It is not just a matter of livestock units' increased demands. For example, in the Non-Chernozem Zone more than half of the allotted area has yet to be plowed and sown. To cope with the enormous backlog of work left over from the bad fall machine operators will have to do several days of solid work. But how do you establish a relationship with the land if whenever you ask a supplier for something you get a refusal. Fuel, equipment, spare parts, and polythene sheets are in short supply.

How, indeed, do you get enough of these things when, for instance, the "Tselinogradselmash" production association fulfills the three-month program for the production of subsurface cultivators and looseners by only 39 percent and the "Altayselmash" production asssociation fulfills the three-month plow production plan by only 63 percent. So it was with a sense of satisfaction that that farmers greeted the USSR president's decree "On Urgent Measures in Agriculture." A special system is being introduced to provide the countryside with material and technical resources (fully, no matter what problems there might be!). Republic governments and local organs of power and administration dealing with day-to-day matters are now entitled to take decisions and even emergency measures. One very important thing was the

instruction to complete within two weeks the conclusion of contracts to bring manpower from enterprises, organizations, and educational establishments to help the countryside. Only though joint efforts can agriculture be given a boost.

The earth has started working for the harvest again. In the North Caucasus and in the Central Asian republics, Moldova, and other southern parts it has already received seeds. Farms have been top-dressing grass and carrying out a range of measures to combat field and meadow pests. More northerly areas are taking over now from the south. Every single hectare of plowland must provide a harvest.

Military

Marshal Akhromeyev Urges NATO Dismantling

AU1104181491 Paris AFP in English 1754 GMT 11 Apr 91

[Text] Paris, April 11 (AFP)—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's personal military adviser Thursday called for the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation to dismantle its military structure, saying that the Red Army no longer represented a threat to the West. In a satellite link-up during a Paris symposium on European security on the eve of the 21st century, Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev said NATO should follow the Warsaw Pact's example by abolishing its military structure.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly called for the simultaneous dismantling of the two rival military alliances, and Marshal Akhromeyev said Soviet citizens failed to understand why NATO continued to exist. The six Warsaw Pact countries dissolved their military structures in Budapest in February, while retaining a political consultative committee.

Marshal Akhromeyev strongly denied charges from former West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt that the instability in the Soviet Union could lead to dictatorship, civil war and consequently a renewed threat to the West. Speaking as one of the six marshals in the Soviet Union, he said that "all of us are devoted to the ideals of perestroika, and we are walking hand in hand with President Gorbachev". "The leadership of the Armed Forces is devoted to the whole process of democratisation and perestroika (restructuring)," he said. The military were even "active participants" in perestroika, he added.

Marshal Akhromeyev declared he was "unconvinced" by NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner's statement during the discussion that NATO should remain although adjust to the political changes of the last two years in which communist regimes throughout eastern Europe were toppled.

Moscow had a military potential "for our own security, but we represent no danger to the rest of Europe whatsoever," he said.

NATO's decision to keep its military structures because of the danger of Soviet instability "concerns us greatly," he said. "Are they going to help us ensure stability? This (NATO) is a military organisation." But Mr. Woerner brushed aside Marshal Akhromeyev's concerns, pointing out that NATO was "purely defensive".

Mr. Gorbachev's personal adviser on European affairs, Vadim Zagladin, told the Paris audience of military and defence specialists that the threats to stability now came from "domestic policies", and pointed notably to the situation in central Europe.

The two-day symposium, which was closed by French President Francois Mitterrand, was organised by the French Ecole Superieure de Guerre, an army officers' think tank.

Admiral Calls Pacific Fleet Defensive Force

LD1504160391 Moscow TASS in English 1443 GMT 15 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Popov]

[Text] Vladivostok April 15 TASS—The Soviet Pacific Fleet abides by the defensive military doctrine, Admiral Gennadiy Khvatov, commander of the fleet, told TASS today.

He spoke in connection with recent remarks made by Professor Masashi Nishihara of the National Defence Academy of Japan in Vladivostok recently. Nishihara voiced "concern" over an increase in Soviet naval potential in the Far East.

"Much depends on the accuracy of information available," Khvatov said. "As for a naval build-up or increased activity of the fleet, the state of affairs should have been estimated on the strength of real facts.

"Facts point to the contrary: the number of exercises and participants in them has been reduced, the area of the stay of Soviet nuclear-powered submarines has been limited to coastal zones", and warships' cruises in the Indian Ocean have been reduced to a minimum which is necessary to ensure Soviet merchant shipping in the area.

"And, finally, all exercises of the Pacific fleet are of a pronounced defensive character which accords with our new military doctrine. The better the Japanese public is informed about the practical steps of our country, the more realistically the situation in the region is judged," Khvatov said.

"We are interested in exchanges of impartial military "information," the Soviet admiral emphasised. "This would be a big step to enhance confidence-building measures between the countries of the Asia-Pacific region".

All-Army Party Committee Head on Immediate Tasks

PM1204115591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Apr 91 Union Edition p 2

[Viktor Litovkin report: "General Surkov's Program"]

[Text] Moscow—The First All-Army Party Conference is over. The conference elected a CPSU Organization Control Commission in the USSR Armed Forces and an All-Army Party Committee. USSR People's Deputy Major General M. Surkov will be its secretary.

Gen. Surkov is well known in the Army and the country. He was one of the leaders of the rescue work after the earthquake in Leninakan, and for several years was head of the political department at the Yerevan Garrison. He was elected a USSR people's deputy on a contested basis by the residents of Armenia. He is a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security Questions.

In his first interview as secretary of the All-Army Party Committee, he told this IZVESTIYA correspondent that he will start work not only by tackling organizational matters, but by familiarizing himself with the actual state of affairs in the most difficult parts of the country, where Army and Navy Communists live, serve, and work, in order to ensure that they are helped right there at local level to solve problems of concern to them.

Maj. Gen. M. Surkov said that the Baltic, the Transcaucasus, and the Far East are such regions.

Political Chief on Participation in Conflicts

LD1504084691 Moscow TASS in English 0809 GMT 15 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy]

[Text] Moscow April 15 TASS—"Some destructive forces are trying to earn political capital by accusing the Army of violating the Soviet constitution and using violence and cruelty in domestic conflicts," head of the Soviet Armed Forces Military Political Department Colonel-General Nikolay Shlyaga told TASS.

Shlyaga said groundless accusations against forces used to settle domestic conflicts were raised "in connection with events in Nagorno-Karabakh, Tbilisi, Baku, Vilnius and currently South Ossetia".

Shlyaga recalled conclusions by a group at the Soviet Procurator's Office that investigated actions by officials and Soviet Interior Ministry and Soviet Army servicemen, who participated in dispersing an unsanctioned rally in Tbilisi on April 9, 1989.

He cited the report as saying that "servicemen did not exceeded their powers, and their actions were legal. All accusations of cruelty against servicemen are groundless and are based on rumours and false testimony by witnesses".

Shlyaga noted that those who criticise the Army are often indignant, not with those who initiate conflicts leading to numerous casualties and sufferings of hundreds and thousands of people, but with "the Army's participation in preventing them".

"The Army as part of the people, does not oppose the people, as some claim, but protects the people's interests, acting strictly within the framework of the law," Shlyaga said.

Shlyaga said he was against using the Army to resolve domestic conflicts in principle, but he noted that when dozens and hundreds of elderly people, women and children are being killed, "soldiers cannot be indifferent to what is happening".

Shlyaga resolutely denied allegations that servicemen received orders to use arms against people. "Someone is trying to make a mob of hooligans and armed extremists organising provocations and murdering innocent people pass for people suffering at the hands of the Army," Shlyaga said.

MVD Rear Services Chief Murdered in Rostov

PM1504091291 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Apr 91 First Edition p 6

[Correspondent Zh. Kasyanenko report: "Death of an Officer"]

[Text] Rostov-na-Donu—Colonel V.P. Blakhotin, chief of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Internal Troops Rear Services for the Northern Caucasus and Transcaucasia, was killed in Rostov-na-Donu.

It was an ordinary morning in the large apartment block. A man with a dog appeared in the yard at his usual time. He always walks here in the mornings. A minute later, the entrance gates slammed: Several of the residents crossed the yard in a hurry. As 0800 approached, some children ran out into the yard. Sasha Skripchenko parked the car by the familiar entrance. He saw Vladimir Pavlovich approaching the "Volga," opening the door...

Nina Nikolayevna looked out into the yard from the window, saw her husband approach the car, and... calmly turned away and disappeared into the apartment. A moment later another resident in the block heard some strange banging noises and hurried into the bathroom: The faucet was knocking again, but the faucet was fine, and he went back to the kitchen to finish his breakfast. He did not yet know that a murder had taken place outside his windows.

No one knew it yet, except the killer. Skripchenko's shirt was rapidly filling with blood—his own and Vladimir Pavlovich Blakhotin's. Covered in blood, stunned, Sasha did not yet realize what had happened, or that he himself was lucky to be alive. His commanding officer, pierced by bullets, had fallen like a dead weight and formed a shield, covering the soldier with his body. Sasha was

wounded, but all the same, death passed him by. It was a miracle, because the shots were fired from an automatic weapon at almost point-blank range, at a distance of about 1.5 meters; the 7.65-caliber bullets were foreign-made. The killer fled, but, naturally, he did not escape unobserved. He will, of course, be found, and the investigation will cast light on this crime, but you cannot bring a man back from the dead.

It is sad when you get to know a man only after his death, gathering your knowledge of him from friends and colleagues who are saddened and shaken by his death. My colleagues on the military newspaper told me that Vladimir Pavlovich was exactly 20 days from his 50th birthday.

Not long before his death, Vladimir Pavlovich came back from his latest trip to Baku, Stepanakert, and Tskhinvali, where MVD Internal Troops units are stationed. General V. Skripnikov and Lieutenant Colonel E. Gidachyan described the difficulties involved today in ensuring uninterrupted supplies to the troops of everything they need, even a roof over their heads. The total shortages affect the Army too. Even in this situation Blakhotin considered it his duty as a soldier and an officer to defend the defenseless and share board and bread with them. That is how they are, even today. A bowl of Army kasha and a piece of bread are always ready for whoever is hungry and persecuted—be he Armenian or Azerbaijani, Georgian or Ossetian. And the concern to ensure that this remained always so, rested on Blakhotin's shoulders.

They buried Vladimir Pavlovich with full military honors. Representatives of the internal troops came from all over the country to bid him farewell; furthermore, marching behind the Belorussian Blakhotin's coffin were Armenians and Georgians, Russians and Ukrainians... The faces of the soldiers in the honor guard were all identically sad and stern.

General Dies 'Suddenly' After Service 'Abroad'

PM1204133591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Apr 91 First Edition p 4

[Obituary of S.I. Varichenko]

[Excerpts] Colonel General Sergey Ivanovich Varichenko has died suddenly.

S.I. Varichenko was born into a peasant family in the village of Berdykhino, Vityazevskiy Rayon, Kirovograd Oblast, 10 September 1928. [passage omitted]

From 1984 he was first deputy chief of the Ground Forces Main Staff, and from 1986 deputy commander in chief of Ground Forces for military educational institutions and chief of the Ground Forces' military educational institutions. He had recently been working abroad as a chief military specialist. [passage omitted]

[Signed] D.T. Yazov, M.A. Moiseyev, P.G. Lushev, K.A. Kochetov, N.I. Shlyaga, Yu.P. Maksimov, V.I. Varennikov, I.M. Tretyak, Ye.I. Shaposhnikov, V.N. Chernavin, V.M. Shuralev, V.M. Arkhipov, V.P. Mironov, V.A. Achalov, N.V. Chekov, V.L. Govorov, V.F. Yermakov, Yu.A. Yashin, B.A. Omelichev, M.P. Kolesnikov, Ye.I. Krylov, Ye.K. Smirnov, V.P. Nikityuk, V.A. Osipov.

Baltic Republics

Estonia Establishes Monetary Reform Committee

PM1504155191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Apr 91 Union Edition p 1

[Item from roundup of IZVESTIYA, TASS, REUTER, UPI, URAL-AKTSEPT reports: "Estonia Wants To Implement Monetary Reform"]

[Text] A monetary reform committee has been set up in Estonia, IZVESTIYA correspondent L. Levitskiy reports. It is headed by the chairman of the Estonian Government. Its members are the president of the Bank of Estonia and an academic whose candidacy is still to be approved by the Supreme Soviet. A special law regulates the activity of this committee, which determines financial policy. Since preparations for printing Estonian krooni are coming to an end abroad, it is to be assumed that the aim of reform is to replace the ruble. The committee's term runs through 29 June 1995. Evidently, the reform is scheduled to have been completed by then.

Estonia Introduces Customs Checks on Shipping

PM1504131991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Apr 91 Union Edition p 1

[Item from roundup of IZVESTIYA, TASS, REUTER, UPI, BATLFAX, and SIBINFORM report: "Estonian Customs Checks on Shipping"]

[Text] An Estonian Government sitting has adopted a draft resolution on the introduction of customs checks on shipping, BALTFAX reports. This applies above all to exports and imports where Lithuania, Latvia, and other republics are involved. The Customs Department will carry out checks in all the republic's ports. Fishing vessels with a range of not more than 12 miles will not be subject to inspection.

Latvia To Amend Alternative Service Law Again

PM1504154191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Apr 91 First Edition p 3

["Direct Line" report by correspondent Colonel M. Ziyeminsh: "'Legal Refuseniks' Again?"]

[Text] Riga—For the fifth time in the last 18 months, the question of alternative (labor) service has been put on the Latvian Supreme Soviet agenda. One can say quite definitely that the debates on this topical question for the republic will not come to a logical conclusion in the near future. The resolution adopted 10 April once again enshrines the following: The Commission for Defense and Internal Affairs, in conjunction with the relevant structural units of the republic's government, has been tasked with examining and submitting to the Supreme Soviet by 15 May 1991 the proposed addenda and amendments to the law on alternative (labor) service.

The situation today is such that the above law is virtually not operational. What is more, many youths use it as a loophole to evade both service in the ranks of the USSR Armed Forces and alternative service. Last year, for example, more than 1,600 people ended up as so-called "refuseniks." That is, they were clearly in breach of the law, but proceedings—and administrative proceedings at that—were only instituted against 15 of them.

The forecast for this year looks by no means optimistic. And add to that the fact that everything is by no means fine with those who have opted for the alternative option. More than 60 of those who were listed as doing alternative service last year have still not started it, 40 young men have committed crimes, while six have died while on alternative service.

Latvian Officials To Work With State Department

LD1604013991 Riga Radio Riga International in English 2030 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] Latvian Vice President Daynis Ivans, Foreign Minister Janis Jurkans and parliament majority faction leader Yanis Dinevichs are currently on a visit to the United States to acquaint themselves with the structure and functioning of the United States Administration.

An agreement has been reached with the State Department that American legislators are going to offer their help in working out methodology for tackling the Baltic issue on international forums. An information base is going to be set up to provide consultative services of American specialists on legislative issues to Baltic democrats within 24 hours.

Lithuanian Premier Urges Economic Agreements

PM1504143591 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 4 Apr 91 p 1

[Undated message from G. Vagnorius, prime minister of Lithuania, to V. Doguzhiyev, first deputy prime minister of the USSR]

[Text] To USSR First Deputy Prime Minister V. Doguzhiyev.

Replying to your telegram of 30 March 1991, allow me to draw your attention to the fact that the Lithuanian Republic intends to continue striving to achieve constructive dialogue with the USSR, its leadership, and the representative delegation which you personally are leading with a view to the swiftest resolution of contentious questions and disagreements. It is hard not to agree with the opinion existing in Lithuania and in the international arena that the conflict between the USSR and Lithuania has gone on too long, that the Soviet Union is disregarding Lithuania's de jure recognition, which in turn contradicts not only the Lithuanian people's aims and aspirations but also the global interests of the USSR itself and in doing so deepens the internal inconsistencies in the Union. If the Lithuanian Republic received

the appropriate guarantees, it would be able to consider the Soviet side's most important economic and political interests with great understanding. The Lithuanian Republic's Government declares itself in favor of free and close economic ties with the USSR and also with all its republics, and the establishment and development of direct horizontal ties between enterprises. A common market of the Soviet Union and Lithuania has greater advantages than the economic and administrative barriers which are being set up in an artificial manner, as much in the east as in the west of our republic. At the same time, we inform you that the economic reform connected with speeding up the introduction of market relations has begun to be implemented in Lithuania. New, commercially based laws on state and joint-stock enterprises have begun to be implemented. New laws on taxation and interest on capital, formulated in accordance with the financial market's demands, have begun to apply. In accordance with this all enterprises, including joint enterprises with foreign capital and also foreign enterprises working on the republic's territory, are reregistering their statutes which are being adopted anew. This is a complex process to implement a new but natural economic and legal mechanism. The Lithuanian Republic's Government realizes that the future of several facilities located on the republic's territory will have to be resolved by means of talks with the USSR. Therefore, when certain enterprises whose ownership may turn out to be contentious are registered, two founders are indicated for the enterprise—the relevant USSR and Lithuanian Republic ministries or departments. For example, the Ignalina nuclear electric power station was registered in this way. The economic reform is a severe ordeal as much for the USSR's inhabitants as for those of Lithuania. So an attitude of good will can be useful in organizing cooperation between the USSR and Lithuanian Republic Governments. In our view it is expedient to consider the regulation of economic interrelations through economic treaties and agreements between the Soviet Union and the Lithuanian Republic as a subject for discussion at government level. We recently sent such a proposal to the USSR prime minister's office. We hope that the initiative of the Lithuanian Republic's Government will meet with the USSR Government's due understanding.

With respect

[signed] G. Vagnorius, prime minister of Lithuania

Lithuanian Economic Reforms To Be 'Evolutionary'

PM1204110191 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 5 Apr 91 p 1

[A. Gasyunene report: "Comments from Press Conference: Such is the Logic of the Economy"]

[Excerpts] A traditional press conference was held at the republic parliament on 3 April, in which Prime Minister G. Vagnorius and Social Protection Minister A. Dobravolskas took part. Journalists were briefed on the range of questions discussed at the government sitting which had just finished.

The prime minister described in detail the problems involved in making the transition to a market economy. Now that a package of basic laws has been adopted and the first stage of the reform of prices (and free prices, as was stressed, lie ahead) has started and when the administrative-edict system has been destroyed and a new management system is coming into being at a time of crisis, the government is seeking to transform the republic's economy in an evolutionary rather than revolutionary way. And in these conditions the logic of the economy dictates combining the discipline of the state order in all sectors with incentive for enterprise and the expansion of enterprises' economic autonomy.

Concerning relations with the Soviet Union and other republics, G. Vagnorius observed that it had been necessary to limit the export of goods to protect the interests of its own consumer market. A number of import-export conditions had also been dictated by concern over the provision of raw materials.

"But we have no interest in closing the borders," G. Vagnorius stressed. "We are seeking to develop mutually beneficial trade." [passage omitted].

In conclusion the prime minister answered questions concerning the provision of paper to newspapers and magazines and the introduction of price restrictions on paper produced in the republic. Questions were also asked about the allocation of subsidies for the production of children's and educational literature. Otherwise these books could become inaccessible to most people as a result of increased prices due to the rise in the price of paper and printing services.

We have to create labor, finance, and commodity markets to break out of the crisis. Such is the logic of the economy.

The conference was chaired by Deputy Prime Minister A. Bocarovas.

Lithuanian Government on Economic Issues

PM1204132391 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 30 Mar 91 p 1

[ELTA report: "In the Republic Government"]

[Text] At a government sitting held 27 March republic Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius expressed concern about the unsatisfactory purchases of livestock products from farms. According to the government, the leaders of agricultural collectives that are not meeting state targets should immediately stop doing so. Economic and administrative measures that the executive authorities are authorized to impose will be applied in the event of targets for the sale of agricultural produce to the state not

being met. The Ministry of Agriculture and other departments have been instructed to clarify who is to blame for the gross violation of state discipline.

Discussing the question of the indexation of the population's investments in savings banks in connection with growing inflation, the government resolved to compensate each investor's deposits by 50 percent as they stood on 26 February of this year, not exceeding a total of 5,000 rubles per person. By way of exception, Lithuanian citizens returning from exile will receive compensation for somewhat greater sums.

Wishing to regulate foreign economic activity and provide protection for the republic market, the government instructed the Ministry of the Economy to coordinate setting quotas and the issue of licenses and also to present the government with proposals on approving lists of goods and technical output and services specified in quotas and licenses. This resolution envisages that economic entities who export goods, output, and services in violation of the established procedure must pay fines to the government to the equivalent value. Enterprises fulfilling state targets can dispose of their output freely.

A resolution on oil extraction and its industrial use in Lithuania was adopted.

A resolution dated 1 April to raise the tariff for the transportation of passengers on local trains was also adopted. The Ministries of Transport and Social Protection were instructed to immediately present the government with proposals on providing privileges for railroad transport in the Lithuanian Republic.

Provisions on providing social guarantees for workers in the police and other institutions in the internal affairs system were ratified and other questions were discussed.

Moscow, Vilnius Still Wrangle Over Talks

PM1204151791 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 30 Mar 91 p 4

[Letter from reader V. Aleksandrovich to the editorial office followed by reply including interview with Ceslovas Stankevicius, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, by Modest Sheynberg: "What Is Happening About the Talks?"]

[Text] Dear Editorial Office!

On Wednesday 27 March your newspaper reported that on 25 March Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet, sent a telegram to Vitaliy Doguzhiyev, USSR first deputy prime minister, containing a proposal to hold a meeting 27-28 March in Vilnius between the negotiating delegations, with all members present.

As is known, a delegation from the Lithuanian Republic headed by Ceslovas Stankevicius—the authorized state delegation for talks with the USSR—was in Moscow 26 March. But their meeting with Vitaliy Doguzhiyev, leader of the USSR delegation, did not take place and the reasons for this are still unclear.

But that very evening the "Vremya" news program reported that... Vitaliy Doguzhiyev had sent a telegram to the chairman of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet proposing that a meeting between the negotiating delegations be held, but apparently there was no response to this from the Lithuanian side.

How are we to understand these political games (no other word comes to mind)? In the final analysis, what telegrams were actually sent? And what is the situation today regarding the talks?

[Signed] V. Aleksandrovich.
Panevezys.

From the Editorial office

Our newspaper reported that on 21 March a telegram arrived in Vilnius bearing V. Doguzhiyev's signature and addressed to V. Landsbergis and G. Vagnorius. "I propose organizing talks between the USSR and Lithuania 26 March in the Kremlin," it said.

According to the affirmation made on the "Vremya" program, Moscow did not get a reply to the telegram. How did events really unfold? We asked Ceslovas Stankevicius, deputy chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet, to tell us about this.

"On 22 March, that is, the day after receiving this telegram," C. Stankevicius said, "in his reply to V. Doguzhiyev Prime Minister G. Vagnorius proposed that a meeting of working groups be held at the Lithuanian mission in Moscow. However, we were informed that the prime minister's idea was unacceptable to the Soviet side, and so on the morning of 25 March a telegram was sent to Moscow signed by V. Landsbergis, which said that "in accordance with the exchange of telegrams we are sending members of the state delegation C. Stankevicius, A. Abisala, and A. Butkevicius to the meeting at the time and place proposed by you—26 March at 1500 hours in the Kremlin."

On the same day, C. Stankevicius continued, at around 1700 Moscow time, I reported this over telephone to V. Doguzhiyev, but his response was that this proposal was also unacceptable to him because he believed that the entire delegation must come. Later a telegram arrived in which V. Doguzhiyev accused us of procrastination and putting forward conditions.

We discussed the situation that had arisen, C. Stankevicius said, and V. Landsbergis signed another telegram that evening in which he informed the USSR deputy prime minister that Lithuania would send members of the delegation to Moscow 26 March to discuss the agenda of the meeting anyway and that it proposed that the actual meeting be held 27 or 28 March in Vilnius.

C. Stankevicius believes that this telegram was sent to Moscow at around 1900 hours and furthermore, E. Bickauskas, the representative in Moscow, reported to V. Doguzhiyev's assistants and his secretariat that this telegram had been sent and that the delegation would arrive shortly. When we arrived in Moscow the following day and informed them of this, the Soviet side's reaction was such that it appeared that they had not set eyes on the evening telegram. We were informed that V. Doguzhiyev was at a sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet session, C. Stankevicius said, and that he would only be free at 1400 hours, and then we could find out what he intended to do. While waiting, we decided to find out whether there had actually been some kind of a misunderstanding with the telegram. At our request the Vilnius telegraph office asked its Moscow colleagues about this, and they confirmed that the telegram was accepted when it arrived by the Kremlin telecommunications workers.

One way or another, C. Stankevicius said, when I rang V. Doguzhiyev's assistant at 1430 hours I was told that the deputy prime minister would not meet us and again insisted that we tell him the date when the whole delegation would arrive. My request to just talk to him on the telephone was refused.

[Sheynberg] I would like to clarify this once more: You went to Moscow not for the talks, but to prepare them?

[Stankevicius] Yes. After all, even Doguzhiyev himself agreed with the idea that, when the date of the talks was known, there would have to be a meeting just beforehand.

[Sheynberg] Is this actually the reason why only part of the delegation went to Moscow?

[Stankevicius] Yes, and what is more I had the authority to resolve all kinds of issues and everything could have been done so that the talks could be held the next day or the day after that in Vilnius. If Moscow did not like the meeting place, then it could have presented its reasons, and we in our turn could have put forward the argument that we had received no guarantees that there would be no use of force. And possibly some generals could have been invited to the first meeting who could have made assurances that they would not resort to any violent actions.

[Sheynberg] Could Moscow's reaction be explained by the fact that it was irritated by Lithuania's demand to first of all free the installations that had been seized?

[Stankevicius] As it happens, in a telephone conversation with him 25 March I had reminded Doguzhiyev of the promise he made during our February meeting to deal with this question. Doguzhiyev answered: Yes, I did consider this question, but I cannot do anything. So it looks as though the government, or its deputy prime minister, is powerless. In a word, I did not receive any constructive answer, but nevertheless we are not demanding that the Press Center, the television center, and the tower be liberated in advance. We would be happy if we received the assurance that force will no longer be used, and that this issue will be resolved during the talks. This has not happened yet.

[Sheynberg] So the situation has not changed?

[Stankevicius] No, we have not had an answer yet. What can we do? We will wait awhile and then, since the dates we proposed have passed, we will again propose a preliminary meeting to discuss the agenda of the talks. [interview ends]

P.S. When the material had already been printed, a report arrived that on 29 March at around 0900 hours a telegram had been sent to Moscow to V. Doguzhiyev:

"Since I have not received an answer to the telegram I sent on the evening of 25 March about a possible 27-28 March meeting of delegations, I repeat this proposal for a date to be agreed in the near future. I still think that it would be useful to have a preliminary discussion of the agenda. Respectfully, [signed] V. Landsbergis."

And about half an hour later the same morning, 29 March, by a coincidence, a telegram arrived from Moscow:

"In connection with your telegram dated 25 March I deem it necessary to reaffirm the position of the USSR delegation. We advocate the urgent renewal of talks without any preconditions and taking into account agreements on organizational and procedural questions coordinated and recorded at the delegations' meetings last year. I propose that you come for talks in Moscow 4-5 April. If in your opinion a preliminary meeting of working groups is necessary, it can take place a day or two before the officially agreed date of the talks.

[Signed] V. Doguzhiyev, head of the USSR delegation, USSR first deputy prime minister."

Stankevicius Informs Supreme Soviet

PM1204111991 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 30 Mar 91 p 1

[ELTA report: "In the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet"]

[Excerpts] A sitting of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium was held 27 March under the chairmanship of V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Soviet.

The Presidium heard a report by C. Stankevicius, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet and authorized leader of the delegation for talks with the USSR, concerning his trip to Moscow and his attempts to meet with the representatives of the other side in order to discuss questions concerning delegations meeting for intergovernmental talks. However, as C. Stankevicius reported, USSR Vice Premier V. Doguzhiyev had refused to meet the Lithuanian delegation.

The statutes of LIETUVOS AJDAS, defining the aims of its activity and its basic tasks, was ratified at the sitting. [passage omitted]

Questions of administrative expenditure and other questions were also discussed at the sitting.

Lithuania on Surveillance, AES Shutdown

LD1504123891 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Report by Virgis Maciulis from the Lithuanian Supreme Council]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Supreme Council spokesman Audrius Azubalis has informed journalists that there are no reports of incidents with the military.

Audrius Azubalis reported, however, that the OMON [Special Purpose Militia Unit] and servicemen are intensively and even blatantly watching the Ministry of Communications and the intercity telephone exchange. Their aim is not yet clear. However, these installations are being guarded and will be defended if necessary.

Commenting on this surveillance and other outbursts by the military, Supreme Council Chairman V. Landsbergis said that it is possible that the Soviet Union is experimenting to see how foreign states will react to such actions. If the reaction is not very harsh, then it is probably possible to continue carrying out the creeping occupation. So we must inform the world about these incidents as well as we can, Vytautas Landsbergis said.

Here is one more report that we received this morning.

At 0117 today the first operational unit at the [Ignalina] AES [nuclear electric power station] was shut down for technical reasons. No details were given at the briefing.

Details of Ignalina Closure

LD1604093191 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 0100 GMT 16 Apr 91

[Text] After two consecutive incidents—neither of them serious—the Ignalina nuclear power station was closed down. The first reactor was shut down at 0130 today because of a fault in the cooling system. It was switched on again this evening.

Meanwhile, ELTA [Lithuanian Press Agency] reported a previous incident on 12 April, when the second reactor was shut down. The safety system switched itself on when physical characteristics of the set were being checked. ELTA was told by a representative of the power station that this incident happened before stopping the reactor for a planned overhaul. Therefore, it was decided to begin the overhaul at once, and to complete it by 25 May. We were informed that the reactor was put into operation this morning. Is such haste justified?

We remind you with regret that the Ignalina reactors do not differ much from those at Chernobyl, although many improvements have been carried out, including an automatic shut-down system.

Costs to Lithuania From Army 'Occupation' Cited

PM1504140391 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 5 Apr 91 p 4

[ELTA report: "Damage Caused Lithuania"]

[Text] The Department of Statistics has collated data from enterprises, organizations, establishments, and farms on the damage suffered by them in January and February from the invasion (or threat of invasion) by USSR occupation troops.

The republic economy and population suffered damage of 74.9 million rubles [R]. This is the book value [balansovaya stoymost] of destroyed (seized) property—R69.3 million; the repair of damaged property (or its restoration)—R0.7 million; and lost (seized, destroyed) financial resources or banknotes—R30,800. The value of goods not produced, work not carried out, and services not provided comes to R2.7 million.

More than half a million rubles of expected profit failed to be realized as a result of means of production either destroyed (seized) or put out of action, raw and semifinished materials spoiled, and the protection of important facilities from invasion by occupation units. Compensation and benefits paid to people prevented from working comes to R160,000. The loss due to injury and trauma suffered by the population is estimated at R1.1 million and the expenditure on guarding vitally important facilities against invasion R470,000.

The largest losses—R74.3 million—were suffered by the cities, and Vilnius in particular: Its losses amount to R74.2 million. The losses of Kaunas come to R44,300, Panevezys R36,000, Siauliai R20,000, Alytus R1,700, and Marijampole R61,900.

Communications suffered great damage from the actions of occupation military units, the losses amounting to R48.3 million. Radio and television account for R45.7 million of this sum. The television film library (R21.7 million) and technical center (R18.7 million) suffered most severely.

Industrial enterprises suffered losses of R95,500, construction organizations R426,100, transport enterprises R335,800, agricultural enterprises R198,900, and the losses of other economic sectors R25,557,600.

Lithuanian Servicemen Await Price Compensation

PM1504134191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Apr 91 First Edition p 1

["Direct Line" report by correspondent Captain Second Rank V. Gromak: "Compensation for Servicemen? Just Talk at Present"]

[Text] Vilnius, 9 Apr—Many news agencies have disseminated a report that V. Landsbergis promised to pay money compensation also to Soviet Army servicemen serving on Lithuanian territory in connection with the price increase in the republic. "Being concerned about social guarantees for the people of Lithuania," Prime Minister G. Vagnorius said at a meeting with journalists, "we intend to give material assistance to servicemen's families too."

I would like to elucidate the situation in this connection. Whereas compensation has already been paid to the population in Lithuania, servicemen's families have not received a single "republican" kopek. Colonel V. Smokarev, deputy chief of the Vilnius Garrison, confirmed this in a conversation with me.

"It is said that nonworking wives of servicemen are going to receive compensation," Viktor Vladimirovich said to me, "but this is just talk at present, and there is no documentary confirmation."

I will point out that Lithuania is now into its third week of living with the new prices, which are considerably higher than Union prices.

Lithuanian Officials on Yeltsin as President

LD1204213291 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 2000 GMT 12 Apr

[Text] During an interview with a BALTFAX correspondent, the leaders of three Lithuanian political parties, Eqidijus Klumbys, Algirdas Brazauskas, and Saulius Peceliunas, stated that Boris Yeltsin has great chances to become Russia's president.

Klumbys thinks that Yeltsin as president would become one of the consolidating factors and would be able to normalize the situation in Russia.

According to Brazauskas, democratic processes are taking part in the country from below and hardly one person would be able to democratize society. On the contrary, democratic process may influence one or another leader and thus legalize a certain mode of life. I do not think that Yeltsin can be categorically described as a democrat and Gorbachev as an anti-democrat, said Algirdas Brazauskas. The election of Yeltsin as Russia's president would strengthen the status of Russia as a state.

Saulius Peceliunas believes that at some time the election of Yeltsin to the post of president will step up the process of stabilization. But, according to him, it is no longer possible to stop the process of seperation by the republics and Russia's autonomies.

Lithuania Halts Currency Sales for Private Travel

PM1204134591 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 6 Apr 91 p 1

[Unattributed report under general heading "Official Reports": "In the Republic Government"]

[Text] As reported earlier, the Lithuanian Government adopted an ordinance on existing hard currency resources 29 March 1991. As of 2 April 1991, operations carried out within the framework of Lithuania's economic links with foreign banks, whereby foreign currency is sold for rubles (at a special foreign currency rate established by the USSR State Bank) to citizens leaving on private or business trips, were halted in an effort to use these resources rationally.

Landsbergis Receives Netherlands Legislators 12 Apr

LD1304083391 Vilnius International Service in English 2130 GMT 12 Apr 91

[Text] The chairman of the Supreme Council, Vytautas Landsbergis, received this morning a delegation of the Dutch parliament Foreign Affairs Commission now on a visit to Lithuania. Discussions were held on the prospects for consolidating the Lithuanian republic status and possible backing of these efforts on the part of foreign states. The Dutch delegation proposed to consider the possibility for establishing Lithuanian information bureau in Amsterdam or The Hague, as well as similar institution in Vilnius. In reply to a respective inquiry, Vytautas Landsbergis pointed out that President Gorbachev's promise to the West to investigate the tragic January events in Vilnius was regarded with scepticism in Lithuania. According to the parliament press representative, the guests were informed about the Soviet Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov's words in a recent Moscosw television broadcast to the effect that soldiers have allegedly killed no one in Vilnius. General feeling in Lithuania is that such statements by Soviet leaders give no ground to hope that the proposed investigation could be objective. The delegation of the Dutch parliament is the first official envoy of such a rank to visit Lithuania.

RSFSR

Yeltsin Says RSFSR To Request UN Seat

LD1604145191 Paris Domestic Service in French 1400 GMT 16 Apr 91

[Text] Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin has announced that Russia is going to ask for a seat at the United Nations and in other international organizations. He believes, in fact, that it is illogical that the Soviet republics of Ukraine and Belorussia are members of the United Nations whereas Russia, the biggest of the 15 republics with 150 million inhabitants, is not.

Yeltsin Proposes Leningrad Sign Federation Treaty

LD1204212191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 12 Apr 91

[Text] The Leningrad soviet has received a letter signed by the Russian Supreme Soviet chairman. Boris Yeltsin has proposed electing a representative from Leningrad to sign a federation treaty. This will allow the status of Leningrad to be defined in the conditions of a renewed federation and the unique social and economic situation in the city.

Yeltsin Greets Muslims on 'Id al-Fitr

LD1504213191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Excerpts] The unofficial visit by the chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet to France continues. Today Boris Yeltsin met Enrique Baron, chairman of the European Parliament; and Catherine Lalumiere, secretary general of the Council of Europe. [passage omitted]

Prior to the start of his visit to France, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin sent a message to his Muslim fellow citizens on the occasion of 'Id al-Fitr, the Muslim festival. I offer this message of congratulations for your attention:

[Begin Yeltsin recording] Dear fellow citizens! These spring days are of special significance for hundreds of millions of Muslims throughout the globe. The Islamic calendar is counting off the last days of the month of Ramadan; the great fast is coming to an end. I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Muslims of Russia and the whole country on the coming 'Id al-Fitr festival, (Murazah Bayram). This festival goes far beyond the bounds of religious life; and with Islam, together with other religions, it is an inalienable part of the history of the spiritual life of the Russian Federation.

Time compels us to reassess many things. We are striving to assess in an objective way the considerable role Islam plays in the destinies of the Muslim people of our state, and in the communications of one of the greatest civilizations of the world. We do not all share religious convictions, but at the same time we highly appraise the humanist and moral potential that lies in religious values, including those of Islam.

Today, when our country has found itself in a state of deep crisis, all of us—believers and nonbelievers—need unification in the name of the rebirth of the Russian Federation. We count upon assistance and help on the part of the Islamic priesthood in tackling the problems that face the people of Russia, including the matter of strengthening interethnic peace, in reaffirming moral norms common to all mankind, and in charitable activities.

Today I was presented with the Koran. I read some of it, and there were, of course, many very wise thoughts in it. The Koran, indeed, declares all people in the world to be brothers. May the 'Id al-Fitr festival once again remind us all about fraternity, equality, humanity, and peace. Once again I congratulate you, esteemed fellow citizens, and I wish you happiness, peace, and prosperity. [end recording]

PRAVDA Cites Sobchak Criticism of Yeltsin

PM1104132791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Apr 91 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report under the general heading "News Roundup": "FINANCIAL TIMES (Britain)"]

[Text] A. Sobchak, chairman of the Leningrad City Soviet, who is in London, has accused B.N. Yeltsin of spending too much time criticizing M.S. Gorbachev and not paying enough attention to the implementation of land reform and the introduction of private ownership in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. According to the newspaper, A. Sobchak stated that B.N. Yeltsin will use the new powers granted him by the Russian Parliament to remove the political base of the Communists in the republic.

RSFSR Foreign Minister Tasks Japan Delegation

LD1304012991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1928 GMT 12 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow, 12 Apr (TASS)—As reported by the Information Department of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers, Andrey Kozyrev, minister of foreign affairs of the RSFSR, has defined the tasks facing the Russian representatives who are heading off to Japan as part of the government delegatioon, as follows:

"Your task is twofold: it derives from the fact that the visit of the president reflects our vested interest in developing relations between Japan and the entire Union, as well as between Japan and Russia, a republic directly bordering that country.

"Our aim is to render assistance in tackling the tasks facing the Union and to work toward making the visit of the president successful and fruitful for the Russian Federation."

Silayev Urges Opening Economy to West

LD1404130991 Moscow TASS in English 1301 GMT 14 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow April 14 TASS—Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev met senior managers of joint ventures in Moscow on Saturday to discuss problems facing joint businesses in the republic, the Russian government press service reported today.

"Russia will be saved by entrepreneurs," Silayev said.

"We should pay maximum efforts to opening our economy to Western businesses and there are no grounds to believe that Western investment could harm us," he said.

"All processes linked with the attraction of foreign capital can be regulated by a reasonable taxation policy," he said.

Current taxes hamper the development of joint ventures and customs policies prevent the import of much-needed basics—from food to new technological lines, participants in the meeting said.

Due to an unstable economic policy, many potential Western partners are reluctant to open new joint ventures. Many Soviet entrepreneurs who have hard currency accounts in foreign banks do not risk to invest the money in the Soviet Union, afraid that authorities could reverse course.

Russian joint ventures offer very high profits (around 300 per cent at the moment) but both Western and Soviet businessmen do not capitalise on this because of sky-high taxes, speakers said.

Interaction between Russian authorities and entrepreneurs could ensure the implementation of long-term investment programmes. The creation of an investment bank for joint ventures would also help protect investment, they said.

Several participants called for an end to the confrontation between the Kremlin and the republics. Laws passed by republics were often contradicted by federal laws, they said.

They called for setting up a Russian government body to supervise joint ventures.

Silayev proposed setting up, together with the association of joint ventures, a joint working group to sum up proposals presented at the meeting and prepare a package of bills.

Controversy Over Moscow Militia Chief Viewed

PM1504143791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Apr 91 Union Edition p 3

[Report by A. Illesh and V. Rudnev: "Moscow Militia: Who Is the Boss?"]

[Text] The three-month battle for the post of chief of the Moscow militia appears to have entered a decisive phase. All the interested sides—the Moscow City Soviet, Russian and Union authorities, the USSR president—have had their say.

Chronicle of events:

On 23 January a Moscow City Soviet session released P. Bogdanov from the post of chief of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee Main Internal Affairs Administration and appointed another militia general—V. Komissarov—to the post.

On 4 February the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry collegium suspended the Moscow City Soviet resolution on the chief of the Main Internal Affairs Administration.

On 26 March USSR President M. Gorbachev issued a decree on turning the two Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee and Moscow Oblast Soviet Executive Committee Main Internal Affairs Administrations into one Internal Affairs Administration for Moscow and Moscow Oblast and appointed I. Shilov, USSR first deputy minister of internal affairs, chief of the new organ.

On 27 March the Moscow City Soviet and Moscow Oblast Soviet lodged a protest about the presidential decree on transforming the local militia.

On 28 March the Third (Extraordinary) Congress of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] People's Deputies suspended the USSR president's decree as being in violation of Russian sovereignty, and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decided that the RSFSR Internal Affairs Ministry should take direct charge of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee Main Internal Affairs Administration.

On 5 April Yu. Luzhkov, chairman of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee, and B. Pugo, minister of internal affairs, signed an agreement on the need to delimit the functions and spheres of authority of Union, republic and city (local) internal affairs organs in Moscow in terms of the protection of public order and the fight against crime. Proposals have to be elaborated within 20 days.

On 6 April V. Barannikov, RSFSR internal affairs minister, signed an order appointing V. Komissarov to the post of chief of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee Main Internal Affairs Administration.

On 7 April the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry announced that, despite everything, First Deputy Minister I. Shilov is still chief of the Moscow militia.

So the stage is set. What actions will follow?

The Moscow City Soviet deputies' hunger strike has been going on since 20 March. Their demand is that the Moscow City Soviet 23 January decision "On the Appointment of V. Komissarov as Chief of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee Main Internal Affairs Administration" must be implemented. Nine deputies began the hunger strike. Now there are 17. Five of them are currently in serious condition: Irrevocable changes in their body systems could begin suddenly. But, judging by information from the hunger strike headquarters, and they are fasting in the pharmacy in the RSFSR Supreme Soviet building—they are all in a determined mood, including those in the risk group. They told IZVESTIYA correspondents that they will continue their protest until V. Komissarov actually takes up the post.

One of the hunger strikers—Yuriy Sedykh-Bondarenko, chairman of the Moscow City Soviet Commission on Legality, Law and Order, and Protection of Citizens' Rights, gave a brief interview:

"We are not opposed to the soviets and the ministry having dual charge of the militia. But the Moscow militia must be directly answerable to the Russian Internal Affairs Ministry, not to the Union department. This is the principle that is enshrined in the decisions of the Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies, Russian parliament, and our Russian Government. After a long delay, Russian minister V. Barannikov has finally carried out his duty to the government and the deputies and has signed the order appointing V. Komissarov to the post of chief of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee Main Internal Affairs Administration. We will hold out until the end: The new Moscow militia chief has to actually take up his post. Only then will we halt our hunger strike."

...I would not want to return once again to the extremely contradictory legal documents (we talked about them in IZVESTIYA No. 71), which created an impasse over the question of the Moscow militia chief. Nor would I want to push for one decision or another. One thing we do fear is that the "war of laws" might be one at the cost of losing the war against crime. Needless to say, the three-month absence of a single, full-fledged chief of the Main Internal Affairs Administration will naturally affect the organization of the Moscow militia's work. If not today, then tomorrow.

Just one note on the situation. Only yesterday the Moscow City Soviet was prepared to spend several tens of millions of rubles on equipment for the Moscow militia. It goes without saying that the militia needs both money and equipment. Now the Moscow City Soviet is having second thoughts: Should it finance what is effectively a subunit of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry or give the millions to someone else? Indeed the equipment suppliers are getting edgy and could find a more reliable custonmer.

Alas, one can see a political element underlying this entire story. And it was clearly demonstrated by the events that unfolded in Moscow on 28 March, when the entire militia was mobilized to block the city center. Well, on that day (and the day before) the men in uniform were receiving very contradictory orders "from on high." What this could have led to hardly bears thinking about, because there were hundreds of thousands of people out on the streets at the time....

...So, at 1000 hours on 8 April a group of Moscow deputies, headed by Yu. Luzhkov, S. Stankevich, and A. Dunayev, RSFSR deputy internal affairs minister, approached the building at 38, Petrovka, where the Main Internal Affairs Administration is "stationed...." Their purpose was to introduce the new chief to the collective. The deputies were stopped at the entrance. There were also efforts to prevent General Komissarov from entering.... But they relented in the end. Instead of the planned meeting with the administration's collegium to mark the guests' arrival, there were talks with the militia leadership—I. Shilov, P. Bogdanov, A. Tomashev, amd V. Gromov. Forty minutes of mutual recriminations did not lead to a positive outcome.

Is it an impasse again? There are sufferers already—Muscovites. And the criminals are not not likely to wait for a "consensus."

Group Arrested in Rostov, Linked to Murder

LD1504213891 Moscow TASS in English 2130 GMT 15 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Bondarenko]

[Text] Rostov-on-Don April 15 TASS—Sawn-off shotguns, knives, a submachine-gun, a grenade, an optical sight and narcotics have been seized from members of a terrorist group that murdered Colonel V. Blakhotin, deputy head of the USSR Interior Ministry's Department for Northern Caucasus and Transcaucasia.

"According to our data, one of senior officers of the department who had once worked in Stepanakert, was condemned to death by an Armenian National Army congress that was held in July last year," V. Kalyukin, deputy procurator of Rostov region, told TASS.

"In order to stage the act, the terrorists arrived in Rostov in advance, at different dates, and thoroughly prepared. Following the murder, the terrorists managed to escape from the scene.

"They, probably according to a preliminary accord, decided to force their way to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region and Armenia singly. But, due to resolute actions of the personnel of militia, the procurator's office and the KGB, they all were arrested."

It is not ruled out that the murder was of provocative character. Tens of thousands of Armenians live along the Don. One of the arrested Armenian terrorists did not conceal his hatred for them.

Disquieting is also the fact that all members of the terrorist group arrived in Rostov with the identity cards of the Armenian charitable society Amaras.

According to its charter, this society is called upon to render urgent help to those who need it, to orphans, families with many children and the disabled.

Rally in Makhachkala Urges Decision on Chechen

LD1604054091 Moscow TASS in English 1704 GMT 15 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Gadji- Abdullah Shamov]

[Text] Makhachkala April 15 TASS—Thousands of people assembled in central Makhachkala today to

demand a prompt decision of the problem relating to the settlement of Chechen-Akkin ethnic community.

The problem of the Chechen-Akkin arose in 1944 when the decision was made to resettle the ethnic group to Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzia.

The problem was not fully resolved after the ethnic community returned home again. The fact is that it is closely linked to a number of Daghestani ethnic groups which were forcefully resettled to the territory of the former Auchvskiy District. They have lived here for 45 years and find it difficult to leave. On the other hand, the Chechen-Akkin ethnic community insists on returning to their homeland from which they were resettled by force. Their demand is lawful.

The problem has been studied and considered at all levels. A governmental commission headed by the chairman of the Daghestani Council of Ministers Abdurazak Mirzabekov, has been working in the republic for along time, but no compromise solution has yet been found.

Because of the procrastination the situation gets exacerbated occasionally. This time, the Chechens have declared their intention to move in and squat on their former land if the government of Daghestan is unable to solve the issue. Hundreds of tents and building materials have been prepared to move in. The Laks who are settled on the disputed land have declared they would rebuff squatters.

In this volatile situation, any further procrastination is dangerous. Speakers at the rally spoke about the need to promptly settle the dispute and called on representatives of all ethnic communities to show good sense.

There is no way out of the impasse without mutual concessions. The rally adopted a resolution, which contains the demand to convene the Congress of People's Deputies of the Daghestan Autonomous Republic to decide the fate of the peoples drawn into a conflict against their will.

Restrictions on Buryatiya's Tunka Valley Lifted

LD1404135991 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1200 GMT 14 Apr 91

[Text] The restrictions on entry into the Tunka Valley of Buryatiya from the southern rayons of Irkutsk Oblast have been lifted.

For a long time a special permit regime applied to its territory, as it borders on Mongolia. The main population of southern Baykal, including the cities of Irkutsk, Shelekhovo, and Angarsk, were cut off from their traditional place of recreation and leisure, from collecting taiga firewood, and from taking treatments in the mineral waters in which this valley is rich. The centuries-long ties between neighbors were violated.

Democratic Movement Conference Held in Ufa

LD1304223891 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1938 GMT 13 Apr 91

[Text] A regional conference of the Democratic Movement in the CPSU has been held in Ufa. The movement's supporters define their objectives as follows: abandoning old ways of running the party, orientation toward the grass-roots in the CPSU, and renewal within the party. The conference was attended by delegates from Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, and towns and districts in Bashkiria.

At a time when intense and brutal pressure is being exerted on the CPSU, and a mass exodus from it is taking place, it is necessary to unite around a policy of complete renewal within the party, said (Orenin), deputy head of the ideological department of the Republican Committee of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party, who is one of the movement's leaders. The biggest and most specific task facing our party presently is to stabilize and heal the economy. Anything which can provide shoes and clothes for people, feed, and house them in the shortest possible time must be given consideration and put into practice without delay. Common sense must prevail. All other priorities, political or ideological, must be relegated to the background during the stabilization period. The Democratic Movement must play a progressive role in this. Consolidation and accord are as necessary as air for the future of our homeland.

'Uralmash' Plant To Vote on Removing Committees

PM1504155591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Apr 91 Union Edition p 1

[Item from roundup of IZVESTIYA, TASS, REUTER, UPI, URAL-AKTSEPT reports: "Referendum at 'Uralmash'"]

[Text] The "Uralmash" Production Association's Administration, Trade Union Committee, and Labor Collective Council have signed a joint resolution on holding a general plant referendum 23-25 April on the question of removing CPSU party committees from the enterprise. The following appears on the ballot paper where the "Uralmash" workers are to choose "yes" or "no": "To remove CPSU committees, along with their functional services, from the plant and not to provide premises at the plant in the future either on a lease basis, for free, or under any other conditions for any political associations and parties to accommodate their organs and functional services." URAL-AKTSEPT reports that, according to the most modest estimates, the referendum will cost the enterprise 70,000 rubles.

Krasnodar To Retain Former Dairy Prices

PM1504135191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Apr 91 Union Edition p 2

["Direct Line" report by Aleksandr Dergachev: "Prices Stay the Same"]

[Text] Krasnodar—The Krasnodar Kray Soviet Presidium and Executive Committee have decided to keep the whole range of dairy products at the old retail prices for the period from 2 April through 15 May.

The difference between the old and new prices for dairy products will be made up out of the local budget until 15 May. The same source has provided a subsidy of R3 [rubles] million in 1991 for students' dining rooms in higher educational establishments and secondary specialized educational establishments—the cost of eating in these dining rooms has now risen to R7 per day.

Queues have vanished from bread stores. The same amount of bread is being baked as before, but it is likely to be reduced because of the decline in demand.

Western Republics

More on Belorussian 'Extraordinary Plenum'

PM1604102991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Apr 91 Second Edition p 3

[Report by correspondents A. Simurov, O. Stepanenko, and A. Ulitenok: "Plenum Held"]

[Text] Minsk, 14 Apr—An extraordinary plenum of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee has been held. The discussion focused on the question "Concerning the Current Political Situation." The report was delivered by A. Malofeyev, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee. He proposed backing the view of a number of party organizations on the need to convene an extraordinary plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, which would determine real steps to stabilize society and extricate it from the crisis. The speaker stressed that the country cannot now be led out of the impasse without the Communist Party's active participation.

The keynote speaker and the other contributors expressed deep concern at the sharp exacerbation of the social and political situation in the republic and the country. A plan of urgent practical actions for party committees and organizations was elaborated and adopted. The plenum appealed to the people of Belorussia to extricate themselves from their common plight step by step, deriving strength from the wisdom and industry, the age-old traditions and lofty culture of the Belorussians.

A statement on the current political situation bluntly says: "Our fatherland is in danger!" The plenum participants urged M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR, as a citizen and a Communist, to "do his duty and take immediate action to protect the socialist system, restore constitutional order in the country, stop the orgy of lawlessness and the fratricide, and put the country back on the path of peace and creative work. It is necessary to immediately elaborate and implement an anticrisis program, halt the decline in social production, and heal the economy's wounds."

The plenum participants backed the labor collectives which are advocating a moratorium on strikes, rallies, and other political acts that are destabilizing the situation in society. A plan was approved of urgent practical actions for Belorussian Communist Party committees and organizations in conditions of the utter deterioration of the social and political situation.

Belorussian Strikers, Officials Resume Talks

Discuss Strikers' Demands

LD1504175791 Moscow TASS in English 1749 GMT 15 Apr 91

[by TASS correspondent Vladimir Glod]

[Text] Minsk April 15 TASS—In keeping with an earlier agreement, a commission of the Council of Ministers of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic met representatives of the republican strike committee here today to discuss the strikers' economic demands, including higher wages, pensions and allowances as well as relevant compensation, taking into account the state retail prices on April 1. The strikers also demand the repeal of the five percent sales tax on all commodities.

The negotiations were held in a businesslike atmosphere. The next round is scheduled for Thursday.

Also today, dialogue was resumed between the presidium of the Belorussian parliament and the strike committee. The strikers have demanded the urgent convocation of the republican parliament session. Following stormy debates, it was reported that a special meeting of the presidium of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet will be held on April 16. The meeting is expected to give the final answer to the strike committee.

Strikers Threaten To Resume

LD1504125991 Moscow TASS in English 1245 GMT 15 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Glod]

[Text] Minsk April 15 TASS—The new working week in Belorussia saw the beginning of negotiations between representatives of the strike committee, on the one hand, and of the republic's parliament and government, on the other. The commissions work separately. The governmental commission headed by Deputy Premier Vladislav Pilyuto is discussing economic matters with

representatives of the strike committee. The parliamentary commission headed by first deputy chairman of the Belorussian Parliament Stanislav Shushkevich is discussing political matters.

As was already reported, the strike committee of the Belorussian capital decided to suspend strikes for ten days to conduct negotiations with the republic's leaders about political and economic demands. Co-chairman of the strike committee Gennadiy Bykov said the strike will be resumed unless the talks are successful.

Some 30 people got down to negotiations on economic matters at ten a.m. today. Present with chairman of the republican strike committee, Mikhail Sobol, are scientists from Minsk higher educational establishments who offered to give consultations on economic and legal problems to striking workers.

Present at the meeting with the consent of both sides are also representatives of the science and industry association including directors of large enterprises. The negotiations began with the dicussion of procedural questions.

As was reported, the dialogue in parliament began on Saturday. The negotiations were resumed today. The debate centers on the same question, urgent convocation of an extraordinary session of the republican parliament.

Appearing on the republican television last week First Deputy Chairman of the Belorussian Council of Ministers Mikhail Myasnikovich said that in negotiations with the strike committee on additional measures for social protection of the people the republican government will be guided by real possibilities and common sense, with taking into consideration a huge deficit of the republic's budget which ran into eight billion roubles. Only two days of strike in Minsk inflicted on the republic's economy a damage assessed at 50 million roubles.

Commenting on the strike committee's warning that prosecution of strikers is intolerable, Belorussia's public prosecutor Georgiy Tarnavskiy emphasised that he will be guided above all by law and that no threat can prevent him from conducting an investigation. The strikes caused damage to the city, and this damage must be compensated for.

Deputy Premier, Strike Leader Cited

PM1504113391 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Apr 91 p 1

[Report by correspondent O. Yegorova: "Minsk, Square Deserted"]

[Text] Minsk—Lenin Square is deserted. The strike has been suspended while the strike committee and the government hold talks. M.V. Myasnikovich, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, gave a briefing for journalists:

[Myasnikovich] First, I must issue an official government statement. A report has been published today saying that internal troops have been brought into Minsk and other cities in the republic. That is not true. No one has brought any troops into Belorussia.

Stories are also circulating that our government only took steps to provide the population with social security under pressure from striking workers. But that is not true either. The Belorussian Government has its own economic program which will be published shortly.

It is a good thing that common sense has prevailed and that it has proved possible to stop the strike and begin talks. In just four days' strike the damage calculated by the State Committee for Statistics alone has totaled more than 50 million rubles.

The Union government deceived us. We received an official warning that prices would rise by 50 percent, at most by 80 percent, yet when we opened the price lists three days ahead of time, prices for basic commodities proved to have trebled [Myasnikovich ends].

Press conferences are also being held at the strike committee.

"We are glad," I was told by Georgiy Mukhin, strike committee chairman, "that the authorities have finally recognized the strike committee and with it the workers' movement. Admittedly, had the government done this a day earlier, the republic's losses would have been fewer.

"Our main demand is for the government to formulate the kind of social security measures that would ensure that the people's standard of living remains at the 1 April level, that is, the level prior to the price hike. We came to the negotiating table with the government because we trust Belorussian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich's cabinet far more than the incumbent Belorussian Supreme Soviet.

"As for the report that troops have been brought into the city, many Minsk people have indeed been puzzled by the concentration of several dozen 'Zil's' crammed with soldiers near the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee building. The official line has it that this was a sorry coincidence—a high-ranking military man was being buried nearby, there was a ceremonial funeral and an honor guard.... Heaven help them blaspheming about a funeral ceremony, but nonetheless not only I but many people have doubts—why gather so many vehicles and soldiers when there was already a vast mass of people in the city center: a demonstration, a strike?"

Incidentally, the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee only reacted to the strikes after they had stopped: A Central Committee plenum is scheduled for 13 April. After the event, so to speak. It is as yet hard to say whether this is a case of underestimating events or underestimating their own efforts.

Background to Belorussia Events Viewed

PM1504133091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
15 Apr 91 Union Edition p 2

[Correspondent N. Matukovskiy article: "What Happened in Belorussia?"]

[Text] Minsk—For several days in succession, beginning 3 April, all the television and radio news bulletins have begun with reports from Belorussia. And although there has already been plenty of talk and explanations, people are still speculating: Why did all this happen in "calm and stable" Belorussia of all places, which many people, taking their cue from Alex Adamovich, were calling the "antiperestroyka Vendee" and the "last bastion of socialist conservatism?"

The explanation that it all happened as a result of the price reform is only partly true. The crazy increase in prices was only the detonator that set off the delayed-action mine. This explosion is no chance occurrence, it is logical—the "explosion" was brewing for years, perhaps decades.

The fact is that it was in Belorussia that the former administrative edict system, which is called the socialist system solely through a misunderstanding, created the most tragic and insoluble knot of problems.... In a republic which does not have a single gram of metal of its own, they built dozens of big industrial giants whose output is exclusively metals-intensive: a tractor plant, two motor vehicle plants, a motor bicycle plant, a motor plant, an automated production lines plant, the "Gomselmash" [Gomel Agricultural Machinery Plant], and dozens of machine tool plants, such as the Kirov Plant, the October Revolution Plant, and so forth. Millions of tons of pig iron and steel were first shipped into Belorussia every month, and then shipped back again in the form of tractors, cars, and machine tools. This also utilized millions of tonnes of coal, oil, gas—which also had to be imported.

This cannot be explained in terms of common sense or economic considerations. If you assume that someone did it deliberately in order to tie into a single knot of conflict all the republics, the south, north, east, and west of the country, then you have to admit that the idea was brilliantly executed.

While the system was resolving every problem by means of "banging a fist on the table," this cumbersome "production sharing" managed to cling onto existence. But as soon as the "parade of sovereignties" began and the republics received a certain degree of autonomy, it all started to fall apart. These disruptions affected Belorussia particularly acutely. For the last three or four years the industrial giants were constantly on the brink of stoppage. Heroic efforts were made to obtain metal and hundreds of thousands, indeed millions, of subassemblies. The suppliers started openly and unceremoniously bargaining: You give us television sets and refrigerators, and we'll give you metal. Where is a tractor plant supposed to get refrigerators and television sets, when they are a rarity in Belorussia and all of them go to various regions of the country on the basis of the state order?

A crisis situation arose when several thousand vehicles accumulated in the yard at the tractor plant which could not be dispatched to consumers because they were still waiting for parts, and the same thing happened at the two motor vehicle plants, the motor bicycle plant, and the automated production lines plant.

Over the years all this became a material and moral burden to Belorussia's working class, whose labor, as a result of these systematic disruptions, was considerably less well paid than in the neighboring Baltic republics, the Ukraine, and Russia. An inferiority complex gradually developed, fraught with the risk of unpredictable consequences. Is it easy for a working person every day to see his "shock labor" out in the yard, rusting in the rain and snow, seemingly no use to anyone, because the country can apparently manage very well without it? In the workers' eyes, someone was mercilessly trampling underfoot the main meaning of the working person's life.

So is it surprising now that among the package of demands put to the government by the strikers, the chief demands are political? The people took to the streets not for a bit of bread, but because they cannot go on living this way.

The powder keg blew up because of the prices "spark." But here, too, people were deceived by the government (this has been said not only at rallies, but even at a Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee plenum). It was promised that prices would increase by a maximum of 50 percent, and that the government would without fail consult with the people as to what should be subject to price increases, and in what way. Neither of these things happened. The prices were kept secret until the very last night. Not even the republic government knew the whole truth about them.

And so the "bomb" went off, and went off identically for everyone. But those who suffered most of all were the Belorussian working class, because for many years they had had the worst conditions of all. People arrived at the plant cafeteria and were horrified: Lunch, which used to cost a ruble, is now three rubles. Who can put up with that? But it also turned out that there had been an incredible leap in prices for children's clothing and footwear, children's food, and children's kindergarten fees. And this in a country that has officially declared concern for children and their mothers to be one of its main concerns. So is it just the same as in the old days—they say one thing, and do another?

And so it turned out that the workers went straight from their cafeterias to a rally, leaving their machine tools. And it is in vain that some people are still trying to blame it all on a few extremists and troublemakers, supposedly underground leaders who are trying to bring about a change of power by "unconstitutional means." These

accusations were made several times at press conferences given by M. Myasnikovich, first deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers. The same was said in the report by A. Malofeyev, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee and member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, at the 13 April Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee plenum.

This is a very dangerous mistake—looking for the enemy outside and burying your head in the sand. How much simpler and easier it would all be, if the focus of all evil was a handful of "extremists and troublemakers seeking power." What do "extremists" have to do with it, when the strike committee was formed right there in the square in front of Government House, before the eyes of many thousands of people at the very first rally. And it was here, too, right there in the street, that the demands on the government were formulated. It is shameful and ridiculous to see this as "intrigues by extremists." And then, what kind of a government is it, what kind of a party, if pitiful "extremists" of some kind can lead hundreds of thousands of people out from beneath its nose? After all, there have been strikes not only in Minsk, but also in the republic's other cities. A republic strike committee was set up 13 April. Was that the extremists again? We must look at events, however unpleasant, through sober eyes and see things the way they are, rather than seeing what you want to see.

Incidentally, at the Central Committee plenum many Communists correctly assessed the events in Belorussia. For instance, V. Goncharik, Belorussia's trade union leader, said that people took to the streets "not against the government, but against general impoverishment, the republic government, like the USSR Government, has no anticrisis program, and the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet has become detached from the people. That is why the strikers are demanding its dissolution and the holding of new elections, under a new, more democratic electoral law."

Our newspaper has already written about the measures adopted by the republic government to halt the negative processes. This was done exceptionally promptly. So the government did, after all, have the means and resources to deal with the "explosion." So why were these measures adopted after 2 April, and not before?

Indeed, would it have been possible to forestall the "Belorussian events," or at least to quell them immediately, in the first two days? Certainly, if the republic leaders, in particular the political leaders, had kept their cool and immediately tackled the alarming situation. After all, what did happen? Since the events were inspired by "extremists hiding behind the people," we will not sit at the negotiating table with them. Especially since the strike committee is illegal. The "illegal strike committee" asked for 15 minutes of live television every day. First they did not grant it, then they gave them five minutes, and then they gave them 15 minutes after all. A very unfortunate deal. Especially since it only encourages people: If you put enough pressure on the government, you can get anything at all out of it. The same thing happened with talks. First—no talks with "extremists;" but then everyone came to the conclusion that you cannot avoid having talks.

The people did not trust the government until they saw with their own eyes a paper containing a few lines of writing, which was presented to the people in the square: The government agrees to hold talks with the strike committee within the limits of its competence. As soon as the participants in the rally saw this paper, the rally immediately ended, its participants promptly dispersed, and the striking enterprises started work. So perhaps it is a bad idea to play with fire, waiting until the spark flares up into a real flame?

The Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee plenum, which was held on Saturday, made a correct and principled assessment of events, without evading the responsibility of Communists and party organizations. The plenum statement on the current situation says: "...Perestroyka, on which great hopes were pinned, has reached an impasse. The past six years have not justified the people's expectations, but have led to disastrous devastation in society and the state. We call on the president, as a citizen and a Communist, to do his duty—to take immediate action to protect the social system, restore constitutional order in the country, stop the rampant lawlessness and fratricide, and put the country back on the path of peace and creative work.... We insist on the immediate convocation of a CPSU Central Committee plenum. The political agenda should contain the slogan: 'The socialist Fatherland is in danger!'"

Ukraine Government, Unions Appeal to Kiev Workers

LD1504144591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1000 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] Kiev, 15 Apr (UKRINFORM-TASS)—The government of the Ukraine and the Council of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions have addressed the working people of Kiev with an appeal to show wisdom, common sense, and restraint, and to refrain from actions that may further complicate the state of the national economy and scoiopolitical life in the Ukraine, which is already critical. The appeal arises from the fact that in some labor collectives there are calls for strikes and rallies, which may result in a further destabilization of the situation in all spheres.

The address notes that both the economy and society are currently in a state of deep crisis. The disorder in the national economy and shortages of consumer goods are approaching disaster level.

The uprecedented price rises have struck a crippling blow to the people. The government and the trade unions of the Ukraine understand the people's pain and the anxiety, the address emphasizes. To us, as to everyone,

the logic of the actions by the Union government is beyond comprehension. How can it be explained that, despite repeated promises, the mechanism of social protection of population has still not been put into action?

In this extremely complex situation the government is doing everything possible to soften the blow that the population suffered from the sharp price rises, the document points out. The five percent tax on industrial commodities for children, for children's food products in canteens of secondary schools, commercial and technical colleges and higher educational establishments, has been abolished. A sharp disagreement with an unjustified rise in local transportation fares and suburban train fares has been conveyed to the USSR Cabinet of Ministers. Proposals for reducing prices for a number of commodities and services, including certain types of meat products, are being discussed. Other specific measures are being taken.

Clearly, the address states, there can unfortunately be no miraculous prescription for an immediate way out of the situation in which society has found itself. The address stresses that it is not those who care for the future of the Ukraine that benefit from the calls for strikes and uncontrolled rallies. It is impossible to overcome crises without a consolidation of society, without uniting the efforts of the government, the trade unions, and all the people, and without achieving the civic peace, agreement, and calm that are so necessary to us all today, the document notes.

Reportage on Solidarity With Striking Miners

3,000 Demonstrate in Support

LD1504111791 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 2200 GMT 14 Apr 91

[Text] Almost 3,000 people marched today along the central thoroughfares of Kiev as a token of solidarity with the striking miners. Dmytro Ponomarchuk, editor of Radio Kiev, is at the microphone.

[Ponomarchuk] Everything began at the sanctioned meeting outside the republican stadium sponsored by the Ukrainian National Democratic Party which is one of the most radical forces in the Ukraine.

As always, at this meeting the party called for the resignation of the governments of the USSR and the Ukraine and for the dissolution of the Supreme Soviets in Moscow and Kiev. Most active in the meeting were miners from Pervomaysk, Lugansk Oblast, who arrived in Kiev over a week ago and who are trying to meet with the leadership of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers in order to discuss the demands submitted by miners of the Donbass and of Western Ukraine.

At the meeting one could hardly see representatives of Rukh [Ukraine People's Movement for Perestroyka]. Instead the tone was set by activists of the Ukrainian Interparty Assembly which, as is known, favors extraparliamentary methods in reviving Ukrainian statehood. The resolution adopted at the meeting included: immediate declaration of the Ukraine's independence, withdrawal of the Ukraine from the USSR, fulfillment of striking miners' demands and those of Ukrainian students submitted on 17 November last year, introduction of a Ukrainian currency, allocation of daily television time for representatives of strike committees and of opposition parties and movements, the release from arrest of Stepan Khmara and the other five people linked with his case as well as stopping their persecution.

After the resolution was adopted, responding to the call of one of the miners, the participants of the meeting moved in a column along the central streets of Kiev to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. During the march, traffic was disrupted. The militia's call to clear the traffic lanes were ignored by miners who lead the march.

The column later halted in the Khreshchatik and picketed the Ukrainian television and radio building. All actions in protecting this state establishment were supervised personally by Major General Valentyn Nedryhaylo, deputy interior minister of the Ukrainian SSR. The demonstrators then blocked all traffic along the Khreshchatik. The chairman of the strike committee from Pervomaysk came forward and declared that the miners would stay outside the building until live television was granted to them. As I give you this report, the picketing continues.

Republican Party Urges Support

LD1404133191 Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 2200 GMT 13 Apr 91

[Text] The secretariat—an executive body—of the Ukrainian Republican Party has made an appeal to the people of Ukraine. It called on all working people to start an indefinite strike in support of the striking miners. The following demands have been put forward:

1. To dissolve the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR.
2. To abolish the post of president of the country.
3. To dissolve the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine and hold new elections on the principle of all parties' participation.
4. To release from custody people's deputy Stepan Khmara and others imprisoned in connection with his case.

There are also a number of socioeconomic demands:
1. To put the union enterprises under the republican authority.
2. To introduce from the 1 July the coding of incomes of the population.
3. To introduce 100 percent compensation in connection with price rises.

4. To immediately implement measures for saving those who suffered from the Chernobyl catastrophe.

Ukrainian Plenum Views Post-Chernobyl Situation

LD1504230191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1828 GMT 15 Apr 91

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Aleksey Petrunya]

[Text] Kiev, 15 Apr (TASS)—The sociopolitical situation in the republic and progress of implementation of urgent measures to liquidate the consequences of the Chernobyl catastrophe were the main subjects of debate of the participants of the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, which was held in Kiev today. Stanislav Gurenko, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the republic and other speakers noted the unbreakable link between these questions since only with a stable political and economic situation in the country and in the Ukraine was it possible promptly and in full measure to tackle the problems caused by the accident at Chernobyl nuclear electric power station. But the situation in the country and republic is now very serious. Society has been shaken by strikes and ultimatums. A real threat of bloody social upheavals has arisen. Communists and working people of the republic are particularly alarmed that on this difficult situation the supreme state and party leadership of the country is displaying passivity and inconsistency, and is not taking resolute measures to thwart the dangerous intentions and criminal actions of anti-social and anti-socialist forces.

At the plenum it was stressed that the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party had allocated 100 million rubles from the party budget for eliminating the consequences of the accident. At the station itself and in the areas which had suffered, engineering and technical, nature protection and socio-economic measures have been carried out. But, it was noted, the urgent measures envisaged for the years 1990-1992 for eliminating the consequences of the accident are being carried out tardily, the funds allocated for this were not being fully assimilated; the schedules for resettling people from the danger zones are not being adhered to, and the standard of medical service remains unsatisfactory.

A resolution was adopted at the plenum defining the specific tasks of the party organizations and all communists of the republic for eliminating the consequences of the Chernobyl accident.

There was also discussion, and resolutions were adopted, on reform of retail prices and the coalminers' strike.

Ukrainian Law on Business Undertakings

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For the law on business Undertakings published in the 5 March 1991 PRAVDA UKRAINY, see the JPRS Report Soviet Union: Economic Affairs, JPRS-UEA-91-017, dated 8 April 1991, pages 28-31.

New Moldova Party Called Complicating Factor

PM1004131591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Apr 91 First Edition p 2

[Correspondent A. Pasechkin report: "So, a Split..."]

[Text] Kishinev, 9 Apr—The constituent conference of the Independent Communist Party of Moldova (democratic platform) was held here yesterday. Around 200 delegates from around 15 cities and rayons in the republic adopted a decision to set up a party independent of the CPSU.

The conference elected the new party's interim coordinating committee and the organizational committee to prepare for the first congress scheduled for the first half of July.

The documents ratified at the conference and the adopted appeals reject the communist perspective, proclaim an orientation to social democratic values, reject the principle of democratic centralism, and allow for factionalism and the course of creating its own structures at local level.

Calls were also heard at the conference for the new party to have a different name—the republican or democratic party, and so forth. But most delegates agreed not to abandon the word "communist." Only time will tell if this was a triumph for conviction or calculation. After all, it is no secret that this name will attract more supporters and make it easier to claim the right to share the Communist Party of Moldova's property. For the time being, it can be stated quite definitely that the split in the Communist Party of Moldova will complicate still further the already critical sociopolitical situation in the republic.

Caucasus

Ministry Halts Cargo Deliveries to Georgia

LD1504163691 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] As the political strike by transport workers in Georgia has brought rail traffic almost to a standstill, the central Railways Ministry in Moscow has decided to stop cargo deliveries to the republic. The strike is in support of demands for the withdrawal of troops from what used to be the district of South Ossetia, but local experts say the Georgian economy will be hit worse by the action. The crisis in Georgia set in before the strike, forcing the government to set food prices above the national average.

Georgia Takes 'Drastic' Electricity-Saving Measures

LD1504121491 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 0500 GMT 15 Apr 91

[POSTFAKTUM Agency report]

[Text] The Georigan Government has decided to introduce a regime of drastic electricity savings in the republic. This is a forced step taken because in northern Georgia, in Samochablo, South Ossetia, the power transmission line towers and several substations have been blown up by unknown persons.

From 14 April the use of electricity by enterprises of both Union and local subordination is being cut by 50 percent. A similar cut in electricity use is planned for street lighting in towns and settlements. The activity of all cooperatives is being halted, except for those involved in the production of food products. Lighting in houses will be switched off for two hours by rayon in turn. Beginning today, television will be broadcast according to the winter schedule, five hours in 24.

Gamsakhurdia: Union To Bear 'Full Responsiblilty'

AU1504135691 Tbilisi VESTNIK GRUZII in Russian 4 Apr 91 p 1

["Address to the USSR Supreme Soviet" by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia and Zviad Gamsakhurdia, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia—Tbilisi, 3 April 1991]

[Text] On 1 April, the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution on the Situation in the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast.

This resolution represents one more act, this time fraught with unpredictable consequences, that is aimed at further aggravating the situation in Shida Kartli, that is to say, on the territory of the former South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast.

It is only with outside support that the Ossetian militants are able to commit outrages and acts of violence on age-old Georgian lands and destabilize the situation in the Republic of Georgia that has embarked upon the path of the restoration of its statehood that was taken away from it by force.

This resolution follows a similar document that was adopted at the third extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]. In spite of the protocol drawn up at the meeting of 23 March 1991 between B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR and Z.K. Gamsakhurdia, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia (at which the way was pointed toward a resolution of the problem taking into account the interests of the Republic of Georgia and the North Ossetian Republic), the congress, under pressure from conservative forces, resorted to a resolution of the conflict in the form of an ultimatum. In its turn, the USSR Supreme Soviet took steps aimed at escalating coercive measures.

We are faced with the creation of a united front against Georgia's aspiration toward independence. One gets the impression that, at the same time as the Georgian people together with the national minorities who comprise approximately 30 percent of the population residing on the territory of the Republic of Georgia voted almost unanimously (89.3 percent of the whole population who had the right to vote) for independence in the republic's referendum, the center is once again preparing to annex and occupy the Republic of Georgia under the pretext of a putsch in South Ossetia.

Taking into account the extremely complicated sociopolitical and economic situation in the USSR, the multiparty Republic of Georgia Supreme Soviet that was elected by democratic means has declared a "transitional period" toward the restoration of full statehood. It was our hope that this step would be a factor of stabilization during which it would be possible, by democratic political means, for the Republic of Georgia to leave the USSR peacefully and stage by stage. The path chosen by us corresponded to the interests of both the entire population of Georgia and of all people of good will. However, following its known swing to the right, the Union government, ignoring common sense, has not put forward any sensible initiatives at all in this direction, something that has resulted in the bloody events in Moldova, Lithuania, and Latvia and the artificially inflamed conflict on the territory of the former South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast. To this day, Georgia is an annexed state. However, it does have a government that has been elected by democratic means, one that enjoys the universal support of the population (as clearly shown by the results of the republic's referendum of 31 March of this year).

The provocative actions of the Union government that may assume the form of the declaration of a state of emergency or presidential rule on any part of the territory of Georgia will be viewed by us as a declaration of war against the Republic of Georgia.

We categorically state that the Union leadership will bear full responsibility for the possible consequences.

[Signed] The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia

Z. Gamsakhurdia, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia

Tbilisi, 3 April 1991

Tskhinvali Rally Urges State of Emergency

LD1504135591 Moscow TASS in English 1336 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow April 15 TASS—Interior Ministry troops in Tskhinvali, fulfilling the decree by the Soviet president on disarming illegal units, continue to confiscate weapons from gunmen.

According to information from the headquarters of the All-Union Interior Ministry, between April 5 and 14 they seized 70 submachine guns, 41 pistols, 115 rifles and carbines, four machine guns, 44 sporting pieces, two armoured cars, one anti-aircraft gun, several mobile radio stations and great quantities of ammunition.

Refugees continue to flee the region. About 700 Ossetians and 82 cars were escorted by troops from Tskhinvali to Dzhava on April 14. Twenty Georgians were escorted from the Georgian village of Kekhvi to the Goriy district.

A rally attended by over 3,000 people was staged in Tskhinvali today. Its participants adopted an appeal to the country's leadership, pointing to the need to impose a state of emergency on the entire territory of the South Ossetian autonomous region.

Speakers also called on Tskhinvali residents and refugees from nearby villages to begin spring sowing.

MVD's Gromov, Shatalin Study S. Ossetia Situation

PM1204154591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Apr 91 First Edition p 1

["Direct Line" report by Lieutenant Colonel A. Semenyaka: "Groundless Accusations"]

[Text] Tskhinvali—As is known, Z.K. Gamsakhurdia, chairman of the Georgian Republic Supreme Soviet, has appealed to M.S. Gorbachev and A.I. Lukyanov. In his letter, he stated that an additional contingent of the Soviet Army and the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] internal troops has been introduced in South Ossetia in the past few days. In his opinion, "the Ossetian extremists... saw this as support and started taking resolute actions with the support of the internal troop units and their armored personnel carriers."

In reality a large convoy of vehicles bearing food products and humanitarian assistance from the FRG arrived in Tskhinvali from Vladikavkaz on Sunday. I proceeded with it from the rayon center of Dzhava to Tskhinvali and I did not see a single soldier or any Soviet Army military hardware.

On Wednesday the convoy went back. Servicemen from the internal troops escorted it as usual. On the way back they were attacked by Georgian militants. As a result of retaliatory measures, the following was confiscated from the attackers: an antiaircraft gun, two machine guns, 48 submachine guns, seven carbines, seven pistols, some grenades, and a large quantity of cartridges. The owners of this impressive arsenal were also detained.

Colonel General B.V. Gromov, USSR first deputy minister of internal affairs, had arrived in the oblast center the night before intending to study the operational situation. He met with Colonel General Yu.V. Shatalin, commander of the USSR MVD internal troops, and the command of the internal troops task force.

It must also be noted that the situation in the region has not improved in the past 24 hours—it remains tense. During the operations that were carried out in one day alone, servicemen detained 43 people for various infringements of the law. During the armed resistance one of the militants was killed and two were wounded. The local prosecutor's office is carrying out an investigation.

The following were confiscated in the course of one day: two armored reconnaissance vehicles, 110 firearms, of which 104 were rifle-bored, five different models of radio sets, some grenades, and around 6,000 rounds of ammunition.

The convoy of vehicles was escorted from the oblast center to Dzhava.

Georgian Russian-Language Youth Paper Discontinued

91P50154A

[Announcement by the board of the Samshoblo Publishers: "For Subscribers to the Newspaper MOLODEZH GRUZII"]

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi VESTNIK GRUZII in Russian on 12 March 1991 carries on page 4 a 100 word announcement from the board of the Samshoblo Publishers titled "For Subscribers to the Newspaper MOLODEZH GRUZII [GEORGIAN YOUTH]." The announcement states that "by a decision of the Government of the Republic of Georgia two Russian language newspapers, ZARYA VOSTOKA [DAWN OF THE EAST] and MOLODEZH GRUZII, have been merged, and in their place a single paper, VESTNIK GRUZII [THE GEORGIAN HERALD], an organ of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Georgia, is being published." Subscribers to MOLODEZH GRUZII will now receive VESTNIK GRUZII, "which will cover issues of interest to youth," five times a week.

Armenians Arrested for Slaying Caucausus MVD Aide

PM1504155391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Apr 91 Second Edition p 8

[Correspondent M. Kryukov report: "Bandits Arrested"]

[Text] The operation to neutralize the group of bandits who killed Colonel Vladimir Pavlovich Blakhotin, deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Internal Forces Administration for the North Caucasus

and Transcaucasus, is over. The direct participants and accomplices have been arrested.

"They were wolves in sheep's clothing," V. Kalyukin, Rostov Oblast deputy prosecutor, said. "The fact is that papers belonging to the 'Amaras' Armenian Charitable Union were found on the detainees. The papers gave the union's aim as being: 'The operational resolution of the questions of providing assistance to orphans, large families, and invalids in acute need.' The union's slogan is: 'The Lord is our light and salvation.'"

Yes, the detainees are all of the same nationality—Armenian. One of them is from Karabakh. But I am sure that their crime and the blood that was shed on Rostov soil will make the Armenian people angry, too.

Armenian Presidiums Meet, Review Issues

NC1304085491 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0600 GMT 13 Apr 91

[From the review of HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTYUN]

[Text] The Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers Presidiums met yesterday under Supreme Soviet Chairman Levon Ter-Petrosyan.

A statement issued on the meeting notes that the Supreme Soviet chairman briefed the presidiums on the situation in Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast], in Shaumyanovskiy Rayon and in Getashen subrayon, the blockade of the roads entering Armenia by Azerbaijan, and about measures being taken by the republic's leadership.

A joint declaration on the meeting was adopted. The declaration will be published in the press.

The Supreme Soviet Presidium sent a cable to Zviad Gamsakhurdia, chairman of the Georgian Republic's Supreme Soviet.

The meeting also discussed matters concerning the organization of the 21 September referendum. A preliminary list of the members of the central electoral commission for the referendum was formed. The list will be presented to the Supreme Soviet for confirmation.

Declaration on Situation

NC1304111991 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1950 GMT 12 Apr 91

[Joint Declaration of the Presidiums of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers]

[Text] Of late, a new wave of oppression has swept over Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, NKAO]. The confrontation between the two peoples has deepened further. The leadership of Azerbaijan has resorted to anti-Armenian extremist acts. In order to bring the NKAO to its knees by taking advantage of the prevailing power vacuum and the instability existing in the Soviet Union, the Communist administration of Azerbaijan, relying on the assistance of the center, has resorted to calculated confrontational acts in Shaumyanovskiy Rayon and Getashen subrayon as well as in the zone bordering the Armenian Republic. The infringements against the Armenian population have reached the level of glaring barbarity. The Sumgaitian methods of torturing people to death have again been put into practice. Lately, two residents of Shaumyanovskiy Rayon were atrociously (?tortured and killed), and an 11 year-old boy was killed by a shot fired by a member of the Special Purpose Militia in Getashen. Hostage taking has increased as well.

The Union bodies bear the full responsibility for all these acts due to their disregard for the 7 April Armenian Republic's government statement calling for the condemnation of such acts in view of the prevailing situation.

The policy of force is being implemented in every direction. Since 8 April the Norashen and Idzhevan Railway lines have been blocked for all practical purposes and the fuel supply has sharply decreased. In effect, Azerbaijan has chosen the path of blatant aggression against the Armenian Republic. In these conditions, the Union leadership not only does not take measures to halt the spread of the oppression but it continues to arm Azerbaijan, thereby directly contributing to the aggression.

In attempting to maintain the centripetal regime in Azerbaijan at any cost, Soviet troops also aim to terrorize the people of Armenia, which is moving towards independence. The incidents in Stepanakert airport, Getashen and in the southern borders of Armenia are spreading with the connivance and direct assistance of the central authorities.

The Presidium of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet and the Presidium of the Council of Ministers resolutely protests the shortsighted policy of the Azerbaijani leadership and the patronage of this policy by the authorities in Moscow. Resorting to a new economic blockade to resolve political problems seriously endangers the the implementation of the 1991 inter-republican multilateral agreement on economic stability.

The leadership of the Armenian Republic appeals to all the republics to raise their voice of protest against the spread of the lawless acts by the Azerbaijani side and to impose political and economic sanctions envisaged by international law. The Armenian people are full of resolve to give the appropriate reply to the infringements against its rights.

[signed] Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium, Armenian Republic's Council of Ministers Presidium.

Cable to Gamsakhurdia

NC1404073291 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1300 GMT 13 Apr 91

[Cable Sent by the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium to Mr. Zviad Gamsakhurdia, chairman of the Georgian Republic's Supreme Soviet]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Chairman, the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium understands the general strike being held in Georgia in defense of independent statehood declared by the Georgian Republic.

You are familiar with the grave economic condition of Armenia. The center, with the assistance of the Azerbaijani Communist Administration, has initiated a new blockade of Armenia by Azerbaijan.

Under the present conditions, we hope that in conformity with the interests of our two peoples which have chosen the path of political independence, the Georgian Republic's Supreme Soviet will find it possible to allow the movement of the Armenia-bound trains through Georgian territory, as well as restore the rail communications between the two republics. The Armenian people will regard such a move as an expression of the Georgian people's goodwill and of its adherence to the traditional friendly ties established between the two peoples.

Armenian Land Code Issued

914A0524A

For the Armenian Land Code published in the 12 February 1991 GOLOS ARMENII, see the JPRS Report Soviet Union: Economic Affairs, JPRS-UEA-91-017, dated 8 April 1991, pages 42-54.

Reportage on Armenian Attacks on Azerbaijan

Attacks Detailed

NC1504101791 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 12 Apr 91

[Text] Report on the situation in the rayons which border Armenia:

Nakhichevan: According to information given to an AZERINFORM correspondent by the Azerbaijan Ministry of Internal Affairs, a group of 30 or 35 armed men opened fire on USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs military units and Charyshskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department units based near the towns of Asura and Avush in Charyshskiy Rayon with machine guns, [word indistinct], and hail-guns. The gunfire came from the direction of Khackik town in Armenia's Yekhegnadzorskiy Rayon from 1015 to 2000 on 11 April. No casualties were reported.

The extremists barricaded the tracks between the Karchevan and Angekhakot stations of the Azerbaijan railway section in Armenia's Megrinskiy Rayon with trucks on the same day. Consequently, freight cars have been unable to move the past two days.

Colonel Mustafayev, deputy head of the Tauzskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department, has informed an AZERINFORM correspondent that armed men, using the [word indistinct] advantageous location of the [name indistinct] town in Armenia's Shamshadinskiy Rayon opened intermittent fire on the town of Alibeyli on a number of days. The armed men where warded off after the arrival of a military unit to reinforce the local militia workers and the military servicemen in the area. The firing stopped at about 0500 on 12 April.

According to the information made available by Allakhverdiyev, head of the Kedabekskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department, and Nasibov, head of the Kazakhskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department, the situation in these rayons continued to be generally tense in spite of the fact that no armed Armenian attacks have been launched against the people of the border towns in these rayons in the last two days. Militia posts have been established in all border towns.

Lachin: The movement on the Lachin-Kubatly highway was interrupted for 30 minutes due to gunfire from armed men from the direction of the Kaladeresi town, which is inhabited by Armenians, in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] Shushinskiy Rayon on 11 April. Movement was restored after the militia workers and military servicemen intervened. This was reported by Imanov, an AZERINFORM correspondent (?in Lachinskiy Rayon).

NKAO: According to the information made available by the Republic of Azerbaijan Ministry of Internal Affairs, Khodzhaly was fired on with hail-guns from the direction of (?Kasukh), an area where a number of Armenian towns are located, on the night of 11 April. A house was destroyed a number of [word indistinct] were damaged. No casualties were reported.

'Militants' Continue Attacks

LD1504205591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1927 GMT 15 Apr 91

[By AZERINFORM-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Baku, 15 Apr (TASS)—The first freight train since the long interruption caused by firing and other provocations by militants on the Megrin section of the Azerbaijan Railroad, which passes through the territory of Armenia, arrived today in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic (Transcaucasia). This was preceded by four days of talks between leaders of internal affairs' bodies of the autonomous republic and Armenia. As a result of the talks heavy trucks hindering rail movement were removed from the tracks, while protection of rail communications on this section of the track was stepped up.

However, the militants' attacks have not stopped. Yesterday the body of an inhabitant of the Azerbaijani

village of Yukhari, Dzhibikli Garib Nazarov, who was abducted on 7 April, was found on Armenian territory by a military detail.

Today, from the Armenian side, militants fired on two Azerbaijani villages for about an hour. Only after the intervention of a detail of the local militia, and also employees of the Committee for State Security of the Azerbaijani Republic, did the firing stop. There were no casualties.

Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Presidium on NKAO

NC1504135891 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 12 Apr 91

[Text] The Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Presidium has held a meeting under its chairman, Elmira Kafarova, at which the decision adopted by the republic's Supreme Soviet on the measures needed to normalize the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] was debated in a businesslike atmosphere. Deputies Bayram Bayramov, Afrand Dashdamirov, Nuriyev, and others outlined their views and proposals on the [word indistinct].

Tamerlan Karayev, deputy chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet who had visited the NKAO with a delegation of people's deputies, addressed the meeting on the political and economic situation in the NKAO and put forward concrete proposals on restoring the powers of the republic's (?establishments) in the oblast. Asadov, Azerbaijan minister of internal affairs; Guseynov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Committee for State Security; and (?Kovalov), chief of the NKAO Internal Affairs Department, discussed the measures taken to reinstate Azerbaijan's constitutional rights in the NKAO. Gasan Gasanov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Council of Ministers, addressed the meeting on President Ayaz Mutalibov's recent visit to the NKAO.

Several other matters were also examined during the meeting.

Azerbaijan Committee Discusses Shortages

NC1504124991 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 11 Apr 91

[Text] The special commission charged with overseeing the supply of foodstuffs and industrial goods to the people has held a meeting. Rakhim Guseynov, chairman of the Azerbaijan State Planning Committee and head of the commission, analyzed the state of consumer markets in the republic. It emerged that in the first quarter of 1991, 38 of the 56 agricultural rayons failed to meet the plan requirements for meat supply, 36 failed to meet the requirements for milk supply, and 27 failed to meet the requirements for egg supply.

Despite its abundant resources, the republic has had to import goods to make up for shortages.

A worrisome situation has developed in the supply of foodstuffs to hospitals and kindergartens. Rice, flour, macaroni, and fish products are in short supply in the republic's towns. Serious attention must be paid to the supply of foodstuffs to people in the mountain and border rayons.

Negative developments continue to occur in the cooperatives. Despite the decision to suspend the activities of social cooperatives involved in the supply of foodstuffs, these cooperatives are continuing their activities under different names. Meanwhile, the prices established by Azerittifag [Union of Consumers Societies] in the Baku markets are being increased everywhere.

The meeting approved a program to increase the supply of foodstuffs and industrial goods to the republic's establishments in the second quarter of the year.

Gromov-Led MVD Delegation Pays Visit to NKAO

PM1104140791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Apr 91 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Trip to Nagorno-Karabakh"]

[Text] The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and in adjacent rayons has recently become appreciably exacerbated. Killings of civilians are continuing, and there have been more frequent instances of attacks on servicemen of USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Internal Troops and the Soviet Army. The USSR MVD is taking all possible measures to stop the criminal actions.

A TASS correspondent was told at the USSR MVD Press Center that a group of USSR MVD senior officials headed by Colonel General B.V. Gromov, first deputy minister of internal affairs, flew to Nagorno-Karabakh 9 April for the purpose of studying the situation in person.